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THE
MAID OF ORLEANS:

Her Life and Mission.

FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

BY THE
REV. FRANCIS M. WYNDHAM, M.A.,
Ex Congr. Oblat. S. Caroli.

WITH A PREFACE BY
HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP
OF WESTMINSTER.

London.
ST. ANSELM'S SOCIETY, 6 AGAR STREET, STRAND.

Orleans.
H. HERLUISON, 17 RUE JEANNE-D'ARC.

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1891.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN publishing these few pages, I hope to direct the attention of my fellow-countrymen to the authentic sources for a history of Jeanne d'Arc, and to give a truer and more just conception of the life and character of the Maid than that which has commonly been received in England.

And here I may be asked what should be the attitude of an Englishman as regards the defeat which his predecessors suffered at the hands of the Maid.

If Jeanne was raised up by God, if she came according to the motto on her banner, *De par le roy du ciel*, there is no room for injured national pride. In presence of the manifestation of the will of God there can be naught but cheerful submission.

Jeanne was the instrument in the hands of God to bring to an end the terrible evils of a most pernicious warfare. The final cause of her mission was the restoration of peace to France, together with the benefits resulting therefrom to the whole Christian world.

The Maid bore no ill-will to the English. She called upon them to go peaceably home to their own country. No belligerent could have been more tender towards his opponents than she. Orleans delivered, she forbade the pursuit of the English, saying: "Let the English go, and do not kill them." "Yield thee to the King of Heaven," she cried to Sir William Glasdale, to save him from impending death; "thou hast called me ——, but I have great compassion on thy soul and on those of thy men." And she wept over him, as with the crash of the falling bridge he perished in the Loire. She leapt down from her horse to soothe the dying moments of an English prisoner, struck down in wantonness by one of his captors.

Notwithstanding this, the early English writings are full of opprobrious insults. But there are Englishmen, who had seen and heard the Maid with their own eyes and ears, whose testimony is quite different. If, like the English soldier, we have carried a fagot to add to the pile, let us follow the example he sets us of sorrow and reparation for what he had done. And I gladly identify myself in spirit with the

English lord, who, on hearing her answering at her trial, exclaimed: "Truly, she is a good woman; if only she were English!"

Our open opponent on the field of battle, she was at the same time our truest and most tender friend; and a grateful acknowledgment is due from us. And I know not how any Englishman can study the documents of her own time without being filled with admiration for the saintly life and the marvellous moral influence of this simple maiden of seventeen summers.

In conclusion, I have but to add that, in accordance with the decrees of Urban VIII., I submit with the fullest deference all that I have written to the judgment of the Holy See.

*St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater,
London, W.,*

August, 1891.

THE MAID OF ORLEANS

BY THE LIGHT OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.*

1. *Mémoires et Consultations en Faveur de Jeanne d'Arc.* Par PIERRE LANÉRY D'ARC. Paris: 1889.
2. *La Pucelle devant l'Eglise de son temps.* Par JEAN BAPTISTE JOSEPH AYROLES, S.J. Paris: 1890.
3. *Le Martyre de Jeanne d'Arc.* Par LÉO TAXIL et PAUL FESCH. Paris: 1890.

IN the course of the last twelve months,† three books have been published, which place within the reach of the general public many of the principal and original documents relating to the Maid of Orleans. In 1841, Quicherat undertook for the *Société de l'Histoire de France* the publication of the Latin texts of the *Processes of the Condemnation and Rehabilitation of Jeanne d'Arc.*‡ There were, however, some omissions, notably amongst the written deliberations of theologians who were consulted when, in 1455, by direction of Pope Calixtus III., the sentence of condemnation was subjected to a searching inquiry.

* Reprinted, with permission, from the *Dublin Review*, January, 1891.

† This was written in August, 1890.

‡ *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc.* Publiés par Jules Quicherat. Paris: 1841-49. 5 vols.

These omissions have been supplied by M. Pierre Lanéry d'Arc, who has published the original Latin text of the consultations. They fill an octavo volume of 600 pages. Amongst them is the *Recollectio*, or summing up of all the evidence and consultations, by Jean Bréhal, Inquisitor for France. In accordance with the Rescript of Calixtus III. his assistance had been required by the Papal Delegates. These were the Archbishop of Reims and the Bishops of Paris and of Coutances. In this *Recollectio*, which occupies over 160 pages, all the questions affecting Jeanne d'Arc are exhaustively treated, both from a theological and a legal point of view. Bréhal concludes by saying that the process, both as to matter and form, and likewise the sentence, contains a "manifest injustice."

At the time that M. d'Arc's book was being issued, Father Ayroles, S.J., had already in the press a work on the same general subject. His book gives a history of the investigations into the Mission of Jeanne d'Arc from her arrival in 1429 at the Court of Charles VII. to the close of the Process of Rehabilitation, July 7th, 1456, when the sentence of condemnation was solemnly reversed and annulled. He further gives an analysis of the Consultations already referred to, reproducing the most important passages. In order that it may gain readers whom Latin might deter, the whole of the work is in French.

Lastly, the combined labours of M. Léo

Taxil and the Abbé Paul Fesch have given to the public a French version of the complete records of the Process of Condemnation, annotated with copious extracts from the Process of Rehabilitation. A quarto edition of this work is promised, which will contain the Latin text side by side with the translation, and also facsimiles by photography of the more important documents.

The aim of the following pages is to draw a faithful picture of the trial of Jeanne at Rouen, based throughout upon the original documents. In order to give unity to the picture, and to place events and arguments in their due sequence, the sketch takes the form of a connected narrative. An apology is nevertheless due for presenting much matter which is already familiar to students of history.*

I. Jeanne, the daughter of Jacques d'Arc and Isabelle Rommée, was born on the 6th of January, 1412, in the village of Domremy, on

* Except where footnotes indicate other sources, quoted passages are taken from the *Procès de Condamnation*, and may be referred to, either in Léo Taxil's volume, *Le Martyre de Jeanne d'Arc*, or in Quicherat, vol. i. For the sake of brevity the *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, edited by Quicherat, will throughout be cited simply as Quicherat, with the number of the volume and page. Likewise, *La Pucelle devant l'Église de son temps* and *Le Martyre de Jeanne d'Arc* will be cited by the name of the author only, viz., Ayroles and Taxil respectively.

N.B.—The report of the trials is almost entirely in *indirect* discourse, though at times the actual words are given as spoken. To avoid tediousness I have turned the questions and answers back into *direct* discourse, which makes the narration more lifelike.

the border of France and Lorraine. Her parents were simple peasants of good reputation,* who lived in a little cottage close to the parish church. Jeanne learned the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Apostles' Creed, and was brought up from her infancy in habits of faith and piety. "My mother taught me all that I know of the Faith." Her behaviour in church was so devout as to excite the admiration of all the villagers.† She was frequent at Confession and Holy Communion.‡ Her few pence were bestowed upon those poorer than herself, or spent in candles to burn at the shrine of Our Lady of Bermont.§ In the fields, at the sound of the church bell she would stop her work, kneel down, make the sign of the Cross, and lift up her soul to God.|| Such was the simple girl that was to leave her distaff and needle and her work in a peasant's cottage to take the command of armies in the field.

When she was at the age of thirteen years the Archangel Michael appeared to her, and afterwards St. Catherine and St. Margaret. She understood that they were sent by God, and when she had need of their help she would pray God to send them to her. "I invoke

* Dep. of Jean Morell, etc., Quich. ii. 388-468.

† Dep. of H. Gerard, etc., Quich. ii. 418, 420, 422, 430, 459, 461.

‡ Dep. of J. Morell, etc., Quich. ii. 390, 404, 407, 409, 420.

§ Dep. of Isabelle Gerardin, etc., Quich. ii. 427, 425, 398, 433, 440, 443.

|| Dep. of S. Musnier, Quich. ii. 424 ; J. Waterin ii. 420.

them thus," she said at Rouen : " Most sweet God, in honour of Thy sacred passion, I beg of Thee, if Thou lovest me, to reveal to me how I am to answer, . . . For this, may it please Thee to teach me. And then my voices come to me at once." From the time of the first apparition to the end of her life these Saints took her under their direction to guide and help her in the service of God. " Sois bonne enfant, et Dieu t'aidera," said St. Michael to her.

While this beautiful and simple soul was being thus sanctified by the grace of God, and assisted by the continual counsel of the Saints in the way of holiness, her docility and obedience to the will of God were about to be put to a severe test. It was early in the year 1428, when she was but just sixteen years of age, that her great mission was laid before her. Two or three times a week the voices said to her : " Depart, and go into France, it is necessary." The voices told her that she should raise the siege of Orleans, and that to this end she was to go to Robert de Baudricourt, Governor of Vaucouleurs, and that he would give her the necessary means. Then she replied to the voices : " I am but a poor girl, neither knowing how to ride on horseback nor to carry on war." Obedient, however, to the call, she left her home, and in May, 1428, under the care of an uncle, she went to Vaucouleurs. She had never seen Robert de Baudricourt ;

but when she came into his presence her voices said to her: "That is he." Then she addressed him with these words: "It is necessary that I should go into France." Twice he sent her away refusing to listen to her.* But, finally, he provided her with an escort of a knight, a squire, and four attendants; and taking from them an oath that they would conduct her safely and well, he sent her on her journey with the words: "Va et advienne que pourra." Her girl's dress of coarse red stuff had been exchanged for man's dress.† She wore a black hat, and her dark hair was cut in a round above the ears.‡ She carried a sword given her by Robert de Baudricourt. As her mission was one in which she would be constantly amongst men, it seemed fitting that she should appear as a man.§ The dress was a

* Dep. of D. Laxart, Quich. ii. 444; Katharina Rotarius, ii. 446.

† Dep. of J. de Novelonpont, Quich. ii. 436; H. Rotarius, ii. 448-457.

‡ *Relation extraite du Livre Noir de la Rochelle*, p. 19. Orléans: 1879.

§ *Mém. et Consultations*, Archbishop Gelu, p. 584; *Chronique de la Pucelle*, ed. Vallet (de Viriville), Paris, 1859, pp. 276, 314. In a learned dissertation prefixed to this edition, M. Vallet (de Viriville) has conclusively established the author of the *Chronique de la Pucelle* to have been Cousinot de Montreuil, a man of note who occupied State posts of high importance under Charles VII. In 1451 he was sent on an embassy to Scotland; but, being shipwrecked on the English coast, he was taken prisoner and passed three years of captivity in England. He was born prior to 1400, and died in 1484, or soon after.

Wherever the *Chronique de la Pucelle* is cited in these pages, it is this edition of M. Vallet that is referred to.

city, wisdom, and sagacity that are quite amazing. At times there is a gentle playfulness in her replies, as when she parries some foolish but captious question.

“What do you think about our Lord the Pope, and which is the true Pope?” Jeanne: “Are there two?” “Was St. Michael without clothes?” Jeanne: “Do you think that God has not wherewith to clothe him?” “Does not St. Margaret speak English?” Jeanne: “How should she speak English, since she is not on the side of the English?”

Snares were laid to entrap her in her answers. “Do you know if St. Catherine and St. Margaret hate the English?” Jeanne: “They love what God loves, and hate what He hates.” They charged her with pride and presumption and with being under the power of the devil. “Are you in a state of grace?” they asked. To an answer in the affirmative they would have cried out at her presumption. Should she reply in the negative it would be a sign of diabolical influence. “If I am,” was the gentle answer, “may God keep me in it; if I am not, may He put me in it. I had rather die than be without the love of God.” She showed also an unflinching courage. “Swear that you will speak the truth in all questions that shall be put to you.” Jeanne: “I know not about what you will interrogate me. Perhaps you will ask me things that I must not tell you.”

Finally, she accepted this formula: “I swear to speak the truth in all that concerns the

process ;” and neither from that nor from its observance could threats or persuasions move her. Again she would address the judges with all the dignity arising from the consciousness of her Divine mission.

“ I have said to Monseigneur de Beauvais : ‘ You say that you are my judge : I know not if you are ; but take good heed not to judge me wrongly, because you would place yourself in great danger. And I warn you of it, in order that, if Our Lord should punish you for it, I may have done my duty in giving you warning.’ ”

History records the sudden death of not a few of those to whom these words were addressed.*

On nine different days the Maid had been wearied with interrogations lasting for three or four hours together in the morning, to be followed sometimes by two or three in the afternoon.† The judges seemed at a loss to know how to condemn her. No witnesses were called. Where were they to be found? “ The Christian fold in almost the whole of the West,” was infected with the “ poison ” of admiration for the Maid.‡ So wrote the University of Paris. A commission had been sent to Domremy, but Domremy had blessed instead of cursing. That evidence had been suppressed.‡

* Dep. of Boysguillaume (G. Colles), Quich. iii. 162, 165 ; Ayroles, p. 120.

† Dep. of Isambard de la Pierre, Quich. ii. 350.

‡ Report of Papal Delegates, Quich. ii. 379-381 ; Dep. of M. Lebuin, etc., 441, 451, 453, 463 ; Jean Moreau, iii. 192. Speech of Pierre Cauchon, January 13th, 1431 : Quich. i. 27 ; Taxil, p. 81.

But on the tenth day, March 15th, they laid a trap from which they thought she could not possibly escape. They knew well that she questioned their authority and mistrusted their honesty. They introduced the question of submission to the Church.

“Let my answers,” she replied, “be seen and examined by the clerics, and let them tell me if there is anything found in them contrary to the Faith; I shall know well what to say of it, and afterwards I will tell you what I shall have learned through my counsel. Nevertheless, if there is anything wrong against the faith that God enjoins I would not maintain it.”

As she continually appealed to God and His Saints they put before her the distinction between the Church triumphant and the Church militant, and demanded of her whether she submitted to the “Church militant, that is to say the one that is on earth.”

“I have come,” she replied, “to the King of France, in the name of God, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the Saints of Paradise, of the Church triumphant there above, and by their commandment; to this Church I submit all my good actions, all that I have done, and all that I shall do. As to answering what you ask of me, that is to say, whether I will submit myself to the Church militant, I will for the moment give you no other answer.”

Had she assented to the question proposed they would at once have replied: “You have submitted to the Church militant. *We* are the Church militant. Therefore you have submitted to us. Choose between acceptance of our de-

mands and immediate condemnation.”* Artifices were used to induce her not to submit. One of the assessors was given access to the prison, and under simulated friendship recommended her not to submit.† But for the moment she evaded their grasp. On the 17th of March they asked her whether she would speak the truth more fully before the Pope. “I request,” she replied, “to be taken before our Holy Father the Pope himself, and then I will answer before him everything that I should answer.” The subject was dropped. They had trodden on dangerous ground.

On the 24th of March her answers were read over to her. Seventy articles of accusation were then drawn up and read to her. The reading took two days. At the end of each article Jeanne was asked what she had to say about it. Often she replied: “I appeal to what I have already answered.” At other times she adds: “The rest I deny.” Sometimes she says: “I deny it absolutely.” The Court has convicted itself of the falseness of its own accusations, for to each of the seventy articles it has appended extracts from the answers on which the article purports

* “Sic etiam ipsi iudices per Ecclesiam non intelligebant Ecclesiam romanam aut universalem, sed se ipsos”: M. Berruier, *Mém. et Consult.* p. 256. “Prætententes in eo si illa recusaret aut differret se submittere, statim convinceretur in fide errare et de auctoritate Ecclesiæ Catholicæ male sentire”: J. Bréhal, *Mém. et Consult.* p. 466. “Non quidem Ecclesiam romanam aut universalem, sed potius semetipsos”: *Ibid.* p. 479.

† Dep. of Manchon, etc., Quich. ii. 11, 17, 327, 332, 342, 350, 362; iii. 181. *Mém. et Consult.*, J. Bréhal, p. 477.

to be based. The extracts are the refutation of the article.

The seventy articles were next reduced to twelve, and in this form the case was submitted to various men of learning. From a statement so meagre, and at the same time, as we know, so mendacious, neither a complete nor a fair discussion of the case could be looked for.* Moreover, the opinions were given under menaces and threats.† Nevertheless some are bold enough to ask “that the whole report of the proceedings, and not merely the twelve articles, be sent to the University of Paris.” Others insert a reservation: “Unless these revelations come from God.” The opinion of the Bishop of Avranches was suppressed altogether. His opinion, as we know from sworn depositions, was “that in doubtful matters concerning the Faith one should, according to St. Thomas, always have recourse to the Pope or a General Council.”‡ Lastly, the University of Paris expressed itself upon each of the twelve articles. [It declared her to be blasphemous, idolatrous, schismatical, and an invoker of demons.] Yet even so the Faculty of Decrees, while recommending that Jeanne should be abandoned to the secular judge, qualifies its decision by the following condition—

If this woman, being in the full use of her senses,

* *Mém. et Consult.*, Thos. Basin, pp. 206, 207.

† Dep. of R. de Grouchet, Quich. ii. 356, 359.

‡ Dep. of Isambard de la Pierre, Quich. ii. 5.

has obstinately maintained the propositions contained in the twelve articles afore transcribed, and *if* she has accomplished the acts which are mentioned therein, *then*, etc., etc.*

From which it is evident that the persons who were called upon to give in their opinions in writing were not provided with sufficient matter upon which to form a competent judgment. It is not probable, however, that the decision of the University of Paris would have been different.† The University was the prime mover in the case. Only in the September previous they had burned a woman in Paris for saying that what Jeanne had done “was done well, and according to God.”‡ And in sending their decision to Rouen they write to the King of England, supplicating him “that the matter may quickly be brought to an end by justice, since the length of the delay is very perilous.”

The first meeting of the University is dated April 29th, 1431, with this notable addition: “sede apostolica, ut asseritur, pastore vacante” — “the Apostolic See being, as is asserted, without a pastor.” In their final meeting, May 14th, the like phrase occurs: “sede apostolica, ut fertur, pastore carente.” Martin V. had died on the 20th of February, and Eugenius IV. had been elected his successor on the 25th of February. No less than ten days previous

* Quich. i. 417; Taxil, p. 443, *cf.* *Mém. et Consult.*, J. Bréhal, p. 551.

† Ayroles, pp. 132-204.

‡ *Journal de Paris*; Quich. iv. 467; Ayroles, p. 144.

to the 29th of April the University had received the news of the election of Eugenius IV.; yet even on the 14th of May they still treat the Holy See as being vacant. A little later its members flocked to the schismatic Council of Basle. There were gathered there men who had sat at the trial of Jeanne and given their votes for her death.* They pass a like sentence upon Eugenius IV. They declare him to be "notoriously and manifestly contumacious;" they "depose him, deprive and despoil him of those dignities" (the Papacy and the Roman Pontificate), and "declare that it is necessary to proceed to the application of the other penalties that he may have incurred."† If only Eugenius IV. had been a prisoner in the Castle of Rouen!

A meeting of the Court was now held to deliberate upon the opinion of the University of Paris. It was decided that a day should be appointed on which Jeanne might have an opportunity of retracting, failing which she should be abandoned to the secular justice. On the 23rd of May Jeanne was brought before the Court. Maitre Pierre Maurice read to her a statement in twelve divisions, purporting to be a summary of her opinions, with the decision of Paris upon each. He then gave her a "charitable admonition," exhorting her

* Dep. of J. Beaupère, ii. 21; Ayroles, p. 187.

† Ayroles, p. 195. Labbeus, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, vol. xvii. p. 391: Venetiis, 1732.

to amend her errors and to submit to the judgment of the Church on the points in question.

“If you persevere,” he ended, “know that your soul will be swallowed up in damnation, and your body, I fear, will be destroyed.”

To this Jeanne replied: “As to what concerns my sayings and my acts—what I have said in the trial to that I appeal, and I desire to hold to it.”

Cauchon: “Do you think that you are bound to submit your words and your acts to the Church militant or to anyone else except God?”

Jeanne: “Upon that I wish to maintain my manner of speaking which I have always held in the trial.”

Cauchon: “Do you not know that you are exposing yourself to be burned?”

Jeanne: “Even if I should be in judgment, if I should see the fire lighted, the fagots prepared, the executioner or him who should light the fire on the point of doing so, if I should be in the fire, I would say nothing else, and I would maintain what I have said in the trial, and that even to death.”

III. The following day, Thursday, May 24th, was appointed for sentence to be publicly delivered. There was a vast concourse of people in the Cemetery of St. Ouen. Henry Beaufort, of Winchester, comes on the scene now for the first time. He is present again on the 30th.* Jeanne was upon a raised platform facing the judges. Maitre Erard preached a sermon, and in conclusion called upon Jeanne to say whether she would submit her words and deeds to the Church.

* Dep. of I. de la Pierre, and Marguerie, Quich. ii. 6 ; iii. 185.

“I will give you an answer,” she said. “As regards submission to the Church, I have replied to them upon that point. As to all the things which I have said and done, let them be sent to Rome, to our Holy Father the Pope, to whom and to God in the first place I appeal. As to my words and my acts, I have said and done them as from God.”

Erard : “Will you retract your words and your acts, which are disapproved by the clerics?”

Jeanne : “I appeal to God and to our Holy Father the Pope.”

Cauchon : “That is not sufficient ; it is impossible that one should go so far to seek our Holy Father the Pope. There are also the ordinaries who are judges, each one in his own diocese. Besides, it is necessary that you should refer yourself in the matter to our Mother Holy Church, and that you should hold what the clerics and people having knowledge of these things say, and have decided about your words and acts.”

Jeanne : “I appeal to God and to our Holy Father the Pope.”

Cauchon : “Will you refer yourself to the Church?”

Jeanne : “Once more I appeal to God and to our Holy Father the Pope.”

Cauchon : “Will you refer yourself to the Church?”

Jeanne : “I appeal to God and to our Holy Father the Pope.”

Cauchon then proceeded to read the sentence. Now Erard whilst he was preaching had held a paper in his hand.* He now passed it to the officer of the Court, who was standing by Jeanne, with instructions that he should read it to her. At the same time he said to Jeanne :

* Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 156.

“You shall abjure and sign this schedule.”* The official records state that when the Bishop had read part of the sentence Jeanne began to speak, and to say that she would do what the Church bade her. ^{to} The† schedule, it seems, had been read to her. It was a sheet of paper folded in two, and containing six or seven lines in French, beginning with the words “Je, Jehanne.”‡ The officer of the Court, Jean Massieu, and three other persons who were present and saw both the paper and the writing upon it, deposed on oath to that effect.§ Massieu also deposed that it contained, amongst other things, “that she should take good care for the future not to carry arms, not to wear man’s dress, nor her hair cut short.”|| Massieu now informed Erard that Jeanne did not know what it was to abjure. Erard told him to explain it to her. Massieu thereupon said that to abjure meant that if she should go against any of the articles in the schedule she would be burned. He also advised her to appeal to the Universal Church, to know whether she should abjure or not. Jeanne therefore said in a loud voice: “I appeal to the Universal Church, to know whether I am to abjure or not.”¶ The

* Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 156; ii. 17.

† Quich. i. 446; Taxil, p. 465. Dep. of J. Monnet, Quich. iii. 64.

‡ Dep. of G. Delachambre, Quich. iii. 52; N. Taquel, iii. 197.

§ Dep. of Massieu, Taquel, Delachambre, Monnet, Quich. iii. 156, 197, 52, 65.

|| Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 156.

¶ Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 156; ii. 17.

executioner was present, and the cart was at hand to take her away.* Erard rejoined: "You shall abjure them at once, or you shall be burned."† An abjuration was eagerly desired, for the mere shadow of a recantation would enable them to discredit the King of France by publishing far and wide that he had believed and trusted in an impostor.‡ She could be burned all the same afterwards.

Then a great clamour arose from many people speaking at once. Some earnestly pressed Jeanne to sign, some threatened her; others pleaded with her that she should not give herself over to death.§ Erard promised that she should be delivered from prison.|| The English murmured loudly against the delay in the sentence, saying that it was showing favour to Jeanne.¶ Calot, Secretary to the King of England, blamed Cauchon with the delay. A chaplain of Henry Beaufort accused Cauchon of treachery. "You lie," cried Cauchon; and throwing down the papers he refused to proceed, declaring that he would act according to his conscience. Beaufort bade his chaplain be silent, and matters proceeded.**

Meanwhile all efforts were used to induce

* Dep. of J. Monnet, Quich. iii. 65.

† Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 157; ii. 17.

‡ Dep. of M. Ladvenu, Quich. ii. 307; Ayroles, p. 406.

§ Dep. of J. de Mailly, Quich. iii. 55.

|| Dep. of G. Delachambre, Quich. iii. 52.

¶ Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 156, 157.

** Dep. of A. Marguerie, Quich. iii. 184; P. Miget, iii. 130; J. Marcel, iii. 90.

Jeanne to sign. At last she answered: "Let this paper be seen by the clerics and the Church into whose hands I am to be transferred; and if they give me the advice that I am to sign and do what they tell me I will do it willingly."* What did she think she was going to sign? † A denial of her revelations? An admission that she was an impostor? She afterwards emphatically denied that she had done any such thing. The paper that had been read to her apparently contained nothing about her apparitions or revelations, but restricted itself to minor points of her dress and her hair. Jeanne, who did not know A from B, as she said at Poitiers, could not read for herself what was written. ‡ No sooner had she assented than Calot drew from his sleeve a paper, and gave it to Jeanne to sign. § They read to her a formula, which occupied about the time of an Our Father. || She repeated it, smiling as she did so, insomuch that the English declared it was a mockery. ¶

Finally, she made a round at the bottom of the paper, and Calot appears to have directed her hands to trace a cross.** Then there was a great tumult and many stones were thrown. ††

* Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 157.

† "Schedula . . . quam si intellexisset, nunquam in æternum consensisset": *Mém. et Consult.* p. 275, J. Bochart.

‡ Dep. of H. de Macy, Quich. iii. 123; G. Thibault, iii. 74.

§ Dep. of H. de Macy, Quich. iii. 123.

|| Dep. of P. Miget, Quich. iii. 132.

¶ Dep. of G. de Desert, Quich. ii. 338.

** Dep. of H. de Macy, Quich. iii. 123; J. Massieu, ii. 17.

†† Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 157.

The English were discontented at the issue of the day.*

Jeanne now asked if she was not going to be placed in the hands of the Church, and inquired whither she should go.† No answer was given, and she added: "Do you, people of the Church, lead me to your prisons, and let me be no longer in the hands of these English." Some of the assessors pressed this upon Cauchon.‡ But without heeding them he said to the officer: "Take her back again whence you brought her."§ Her doom was: "Perpetual imprisonment, with the bread of suffering and the water of anguish."

Now the text of her pretended abjuration, as it appears amongst the documents of her trial, is quite different from that described above. It occupies upwards of fifty lines of printed matter, and instead of beginning "Je, Jehanne," its first words are "Toute personne"; nor does the word Jeanne occur in it at all. What is to be concluded? Either that Calot, when he handed the paper to Jeanne, fraudulently substituted for the one with "Je, Jehanne," the document beginning "Toute personne"; or else that Jeanne actually signed the schedule "Je, Jehanne," and that for this was afterwards exchanged the "Toute personne" with Jeanne's

* Dep. of J. Fave, Quich. ii. 376.

† Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. ii. 17, 18; iii. 157; G. Manchon, ii. 14.

‡ Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. ii. 18.

§ Dep. of G. Manchon, Quich. ii. 14.

mark copied and forged at the foot of it.* Jeanne was simplicity, candour, and truthfulness itself. Cauchon throughout is marked by violent factious spirit, dissimulation, duplicity, and dishonesty. One more fraud is but a pebble added to his pile of previous dishonesty. But the accumulation of evidence is against the probability of a substantial abjuration by Jeanne. It may be conceded for the sake of argument, as is done by the Inquisitor Bréhal in his *Recollectio*,† that she did sign the longer document. But then he concludes that even so the abjuration was null and void, as having been obtained by fraud, violence, and fear.‡ The Sentence of Rehabilitation characterised the “pretended abjuration” as false, lying, extorted by force and fear, in presence of the executioner and under the threat of fire, without Jeanne’s having had previous knowledge of it, and without her having understood it.§ In no case was the truth of Jeanne’s mission invalidated.|| She had even warned the judges, when on May 9th they were proposing to put her to the torture, that an extorted contradiction of herself would contain falsehood and not

* Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. iii. 156.

† *Mém. et Consult.* p. 520. “Quia ex serie processus, etc.”

‡ *Mém. et Consult.*, J. Bréhal, p. 528.

§ J. Bréhal, *Mem. et Consult.* p. 524. *Sentence of Rehabilitation*, Taxil, p. 523; Ayroles, p. 693.

|| “Sed quo ad apparitiones et revelationes . . . ex processu apparet, nunquam intentionem ab eis recedere per abjurationem revocationem aut alias habuit”: J. Bréhal, *Mém. et Consult.* p. 482.

Juvenal
62
Cauchon
32

truth. "In very truth if you were to cause my limbs to be torn from my body and my soul to be driven out, I would say nothing different; and if I were to say anything different, I would always tell you afterwards that you had made me say it by force."

Of the promises that had been made to her, none of them were kept. On that same Thursday she was put back in her old prison. By night as by day she was still kept chained.* Five English soldiers still guarded her, three always in her cell and two outside at the door. Her woman's dress at once aggravated the dangers of violation of her modesty to which for so many months she had been exposed. Upon this point there is explicit evidence of the gravest nature in the sworn depositions.†

Now were to be realised the words of one of the assessors at the close of the scene on the Thursday: "Never mind, we shall have her again."‡ On the Sunday morning Jeanne said to her guards: "Unchain me, that I may get up." One of the guards then took away her woman's dress that was lying on the bed, put in its place her man's dress, and said to her: "Get up." A discussion followed that lasted till midday, Jeanne saying: "Sirs, you know that it is forbidden me; without blame I cannot put it on again." Finally, being obliged by the neces-

* Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. ii. 18.

† Dep. of Ladvenu, Is. de la Pierre, Quich. ii. 8, 5; Ladvenu, iii. 168; ii. 298, 300, 371.

‡ Dep. of J. Fave, Quich. ii. 376.

p. 210 v
45 v k

sities of nature to get up, she put on the man's dress, and afterwards, in spite of her entreaties, they refused to give her any other.*

On the Monday, Cauchon and others came to the prison to verify what had quickly been reported. Jeanne is unabated in her courage. She asserts that she had never done anything against God or the Faith, notwithstanding all that she had been ordered to retract. She affirms that what was in the schedule of abjuration she had not understood, and that she had not understood herself to have retracted anything except so far as it might be the will of God. Yet even in retracting so much, she says she had done wrong. She is willing to take a woman's dress, if they will place her in a suitable prison, but not a point further will she concede. She rises to her fullest grandeur and dignity as she solemnly answers: "If I were to say that God has not sent me, I should damn myself: for, verily, God has sent me."

2-17-18
The judges retired to take further measures "according to right and reason." On the next day, Tuesday, May 29th, the Court assembled. Cauchon gave an account of what had passed since the Thursday. He stated that, at the instigation of the devil, Jeanne had reasserted the truth of her revelations, and had taken again her man's dress. The copy of the answers made by Jeanne on the previous day was read, as also the schedule of the abjuration.

* Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. ii. 18.

means towards the fulfilment of her mission, and to her mind was co-extensive with it. "When I shall have done that for which I have been sent by God, I will take the dress of a woman." Nor did she, who would rather "have been torn asunder by four horses than have come into France without the permission of God," assume this dress of her own fancy. "I have neither taken this dress nor done anything, but upon the order of God and His Angels."

From Vaucouleurs she rode through the midst of the country occupied by the English, and early in March, 1429, she reached the neighbourhood of Tours.* The Dauphin Charles was at the Castle of Chinon. Jeanne, admitted into his presence, singled him out from the courtiers and addressed him thus: † "God give you good life, gentle Dauphin." "It is not I that am the King," he replied; "there he is." "In the name of God, gentle Prince, it is you and not another," rejoined Jeanne. He inquired what her name was. "Gentle Dauphin, I am named Jeanne the Maid, and the King of Heaven sends you word through me that you shall be anointed and crowned in the city of Reims, and that you shall be the lieutenant of the King of Heaven, Who is the King of France." ‡

* For Itinerary, see Quich. v. 377-382, and *Footsteps of Jeanne d'Arc*, by Florence Caddy, London, 1886, p. 97.

† Jean Chartier, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, ed. Denys Godefroy, 1661, p. 19; and Quich. iv. 52.

‡ Dep. of Jean Pasquerel, Quich. iii. 103.

Then she made known to him what no one knew or could have known but God and himself; and she added: "I tell thee from my Lord that thou art true heir of France, and son of the King; and He sends me to thee to lead thee to Reims, that there thou mayest receive thy coronation and consecration, if thou wilt."*

It was a prayer that he had made in secret to God that she had revealed to him.† Charles was satisfied; yet he was not in a position to place the conduct of the war in the hands of a mere girl, till others also should admit the authenticity of her mission. Jeanne was therefore sent to Poitiers, where for the space of three weeks she was examined by an assembly of ecclesiastics, presided over by the Archbishop of Reims, who was assisted by the Inquisitor-General of that part of France.‡ The proceedings were taken down in writing, but unfortunately, even before 1455 the MS. had disappeared, and it is not known what became of it. That it existed there is no doubt; and Jeanne refers to it again and again at Rouen: "I wish you had a copy of that

* "Ego dico tibi ex parte de Messire, que tu es vray héritier de France, et filz du roy; et me mittit ad te pro te ducendo Remis, ut ibi recipias coronationem et consecrationem tuam, si vuleris." Dep. of Pasquerel, Quich. iii. 103.

† L'Abréviateur du Procès; *Le Miroir des Femmes vertueuses*, Pierre Sala; apud Quich. iv. 258, 271, 280. See also *Chronique de la Pucelle*, p. 274.

‡ Ayroles, pp. 1-19; Dep. of G. Thibault and S. Seguin; Quich. iii. 74, 202.

book which is at Poitiers. It is written at Poitiers. It is entered in the registers at Poitiers." There remain, however, the conclusions of the assembly. They are to the effect that they had proved the Maid (1) by human prudence and (2) by asking a sign from God. First, they say that in the six weeks she had been at Chinon and Poitiers they had found "nothing wrong in her, but on the contrary goodness, humility, virginity, devotion, uprightness, and simplicity." Secondly, they state that the Maid would show them the sign "before Orleans, and not previously nor elsewhere," for that thus it was ordained by God.* Already in this document and in others of the same year, 1429, Jeanne is uniformly termed *Puella* in Latin, *La Pucelle* in French. The whole of the West of Europe was moved at the deeds of this girl of seventeen. She was par excellence *The Maid, Puella, La Pucelle*. "Before the raising of the siege of Orleans, and since, every day, when my voices have spoken to me, they have often called me Jeanne la Pucelle, fille de Dieu." Only her enemies refused her this title, calling her in disdain *femme, femmelette, mulier, muliercula*. Shakespeare is equally in accordance with truth when he terms her *La Pucelle*, as when he puts into the mouths of her enemies the foulest reproaches.†

* Quich. iii. 391-2 ; Ayroles, pp. 14, 685. Confirmed by Dep. of Jean d'Aulon, Quich. iii. 209.

† *Henry VI.*

The assembly therefore recommends the Dauphin to cause her to be suitably conducted with an army to Orleans, placing their trust in God. "For to despise her," they added, "would be to resist the Holy Spirit, and to render oneself unworthy of the help of God."* In similar terms Archbishop Gelu advised the Dauphin, writing from his See of Embrun in May of the same year.†

We pass over the wonderful events of the following months; how with ten or twelve thousand men she arrived before Orleans on the 29th of April, entered the town in the face of the enemy, with a convoy of provisions, and raised the siege on the 8th of May. Then she repaired once more to the Dauphin. To be fully recognised as King of France it was necessary that he should be crowned and anointed at Reims.‡ Thither she led him, triumphantly opening the way through the midst of the enemy till, on the 17th of July, she stood with her banner in the Cathedral at Reims at the solemn coronation of King Charles VII.

Here her mission is often represented as having ended. "Gentle King," she said as she fell at his feet, "now is accomplished the good pleasure of God, Who willed that you should come to Reims to receive your sacred

* Ayroles, p. 14; Quich. iii. 392.

† *Mémoires et Consultations*, p. 598.

‡ "Negabantque (Galli) verum esse regem, qui hoc oleo non sit delibutus."—Pius II., Quich. iv. 513.

Then the assessors, to the number of forty-two, gave their opinions. The most important is that of the Abbot of Fécamp, nephew to Cauchon; for almost every one appended to his answer: "I agree with the Abbot of Fécamp." The Abbot's words were as follows: "Jeanne is relapsed. Nevertheless it is well that the schedule which has just been read to us should be read again before her, that it should be explained to her, and that she should have recalled to her the word of God. And this done, the judge will have to declare her a heretic and to abandon her to the secular justice, begging of it to act towards her with tenderness."

The schedule referred to was the schedule of abjuration, "Toute personne." But it was never read to Jeanne at all. The Vicar of Wakefield used often to ask advice of others with no intention of taking it. Cauchon thanked the assessors for their opinions, and followed his own counsels.

Eight o'clock of the following day, Wednesday, May 30th, 1431, was appointed for Jeanne to appear in the Old Market Place of Rouen. Early in the morning Cauchon visited the prison.* "Bishop, I die through you," said Jeanne as soon as he entered. And, as he was exhorting her to patience, and saying that she died because she had not kept her promises, she rejoined: "Alas! if you had put me in the prisons of the Church's Court, and placed

* Dep. of J. Toutmouillé and M. Ladvenu, Quich. ii. 4, 8.

me in the hands of suitable and becoming ecclesiastical keepers, this would not have come to pass. For which reason I appeal from you before God."*

reply/
 The details of her end are too beautiful and touching for justice to be done them with a passing hand. She received the Holy Eucharist with a devotion that exceeded the powers of description of those who were present.† In answer to the sermon that was preached to her, she answered that she forgave her judges.‡ She begged the vast multitude to pray for her.§ Cauchon pronounced the sentence of relapse, in which he had the crowning audacity to use these words: "You have also categorically, and at various times, refused to submit yourself to our Holy Father the Pope, and to the holy General Council."||

*her
submit*
 The saintly maid in the midst of the flames interrupts her prayers but to cry aloud to the people that she is neither heretic nor schismatic.¶ She proclaims for the last time that her voices are from God, that they have not deceived her, and that all that she has done she has done by the order of God.** "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus," are the chief words upon her lips. With a loud cry that penetrates the whole

* Dep. of J. Toutmouillé, Quich. ii. 4.

† Dep. of Ladvenu, Quich. iii. 168.

‡ Dep. of Manchon, Quich. ii. 344; Massieu, ii. 19.

§ Dep. of Massieu, Quich. ii. 19.

|| Quich. i. 475; Taxil, p. 502.

¶ Dep. of Isambard de la Pierre, ii. 303.

** Dep. of Ladvenu, Quich. iii. 170.

multitude she utters once more the Holy Name.* Her head leans forward, and she dies.†

The people are in floods of tears.‡ The officials are in consternation.§ “We are all lost,” cries Jean Tressart, one of the King of England’s secretaries; “we have burned a Saint; I believe her soul to be in the hands of God, and I believe all those to be damned who have consented to her condemnation.”||

The saintly maid had stated before the judges that she should be delivered from prison, she knew not how nor when. On March 1st she had told them that in three months’ time she would give them an answer. Three months had not elapsed, and the answer came in the flames—to the one in a deliverance into the hands of God,¶ to the others in a terrible warning.

“What my voices tell me as being the principal thing, is that I shall be delivered by a great victory; and they also add: ‘Take everything in good part; have not too great a care about your martyrdom; you will come at length to the kingdom of Paradise’” (March 14th, 1431).

* Dep. of Leparmentier, Quich. iii. 186; Massieu, ii. 20.

† Dep. of Isambard de la Pierre, Quich. ii. 7.

‡ Dep. of J. Fabre, etc., Quich. iii. 177, 186, 188, etc.

§ Dep. of Isambard de la Pierre, M. Ladvenu, ii. 7, 9, 352.

|| “Dicens in effectu: ‘Nos sumus omnes perdit, quia una sancta persona fuit combusta,’ et quod credebat animam ejus esse in manu Dei”: Dep. of Cusquel, Quich. iii. 182. “Et quod credebat animam ejus esse in manibus Dei et omnes adhærentes condemnationi ejus esse damnatos”: *Ibid.* ii. 307; see also ii. 347.

¶ *Mém. et Consult.*, J. Bréhal, p. 484.

THE MISSION OF JEANNE D'ARC, ITS OBJECTS AND EXTENT.*



INTRODUCTION.—ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

IN his *Curiosities of Literature*,† Isaac d'Israeli makes this appropriate remark: "Modern historians must furnish their readers with the truest means of becoming their critics by providing them with their authorities." This is what readers of histories of Jeanne d'Arc should require of the writers; and in the following pages inquiry will be made as to how far certain generally accepted statements about the Maid can produce their authorities.

For a true history of Jeanne d'Arc the authorities to be relied upon are obviously the contemporaneous writings and the documents that belong to her own century. Considering the period in which she lived, from 1412 to 1431, these may be said to be fairly abundant. They comprise, in the first place, the juridical

* Read at a meeting of the Academia of the Catholic Religion, in the presence of His Eminence Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, on Tuesday, November 18th, 1890.

† London, 1829, p. 428, Essay on *Political Forgeries and Fictions*.

documents relating to the Trial of Condemnation in 1431 and to the Trial of Rehabilitation in 1456. Secondly, there are the writings of twenty-two French, eight Burgundian, and fourteen foreign authors, together with seven indirect testimonies. Next, there are various letters, accounts, receipts, and other documents.

The foregoing, which are all of the fifteenth century, were collected together by M. Jules Quicherat and published in five volumes for the *Historical Society of France*.* The first volume appeared in 1841, and the last in 1849. It is important to bear these dates in mind in estimating the relative value of works written before and after these publications.

Further, there are the written opinions of the theologians who were consulted, in 1456, at the time of the Trial of Rehabilitation. The full text of these was published for the first time in 1889, in a closely printed octavo volume of about 600 pages.† Lastly, a few documents have come to light since 1849. In 1879 was published an extract from the *Livre Noir de la Rochelle*, written probably in September, 1429.‡ And later still, the *Breviarium Historiale*, written in 1429, was

* *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, par Jules Quicherat. Paris, 1841-49.

† *Mémoires et Consultations en faveur de Jeanne d'Arc par les Juges du Procès de Réhabilitation*. Publiés pour la première fois par Pierre Lanéry d'Arc. Paris, 1889.

‡ *Relation inédite sur Jeanne d'Arc extraite du Livre Noir de l'Hôtel de Ville de la Rochelle*. Publiée par M. J. Quicherat. Orléans, 1879.

discovered in the Vatican Library in 1885.* There are a few documents also in Rymer's *Fœdera*, and in the Rolls Publications—*Wars of the English in France* and *Le Recueil des Chroniques de Jehan Wawrin*. One more most important document remains to be noticed. That is the MS. of the proceedings of the Court at Poitiers, which in March, 1429, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Reims, inquired into the credibility of Jeanne's Mission and into the character of Jeanne herself. This document disappeared previous to 1456, nor has it since been recovered.† It is to be hoped that it may still be in existence, and that some happy chance may bring it to light.

The aforesaid, then, are the authorities to which any writer upon Jeanne ought to be able to refer his readers for the justification of his historical statements.

I.—HISTORIES CONTRADICTED BY ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

We may now pass to the examination of certain points in English biographies of the Maid.

* *Nouveau témoignage à la Mission de Jeanne d'Arc*. Orléans, 1886.

† "Attentis testium depositionibus super examinatione ipsius in præsentia plurimorum prælatorum. . . . Pictavis et alibi facta": Quich. iii. 357; see also v. 472. "Ce document, que Jeanne invoquait, à Rouen, en présence de ses accusateurs, paraît avoir été détruit par une malveillance intéressée": Vallet (de Viriville), *Histoire de Charles VII.*, ii. p. 62.

Lord Mahon, in an article in the *Quarterly Review* for March, 1842, writes as follows:—
“But when we find some French historians, transported by an enthusiasm almost equal to that of Jeanne herself, represent her as filling the part of a general or statesman—as skilful in leading armies or directing councils—we must withhold our faith. Such skill, indeed, from a country girl, without either education or experience, would be, had she really possessed it, scarcely less supernatural than the visions which she claimed. But the facts are far otherwise. In affairs of State, Joan’s voice was never heard; in affairs of war, all her proposals will be found to resolve themselves into two: either to rush headlong upon the enemy, often in the very point where he was strongest, or to offer frequent and public prayers to the Almighty. We are not aware of any single instance in which her military suggestions were not these, or nearly akin to these. Nay, more, as we have elsewhere noticed, her want of knowledge and of capacity to command were so glaring, that scarce one of the chiefs, or princes, or prelates, who heard her in council or familiar conversation, appears to have retained beyond the first few days the slightest faith in her mission.”*

These are plain, unhesitating, and decided

* *Quarterly Review*, March, 1842, pp. 327-8; published also as a separate essay, with the author’s name.

words. We shall expect them to be based upon evidence equally plain.

Now Jeanne had arrived before the King on March 6th, 1429.* From his palace at Chinon she was sent to Poitiers, where for the space of three weeks she was interrogated by the Court presided over by the Archbishop of Reims. The result of the investigation was that, towards the end of April, the King, the chiefs, the princes and the prelates entrusted her with an army to march to the relief of Orleans.

On the 29th of April she appeared before the city, and on the 8th of May all the English forces retired. We do not read that this led to any loss of faith in her mission.

As to affairs of State, Dunois relates upon oath that, when the siege of Orleans had been raised, "the princes and captains wished that the King should go to Normandy and not to Reims. But the Maid was always of opinion that he ought to go to Reims, and in her opinion they all agreed."† Her voice was heard again in council before Troyes. It was seriously debated before the King whether the expedition to Reims should not be abandoned. One of the councillors recommended that they should hear the Maid before coming to a final con-

* "L'an milIIIc. xxviii., le 6 jours de Mars, la Pucelle vint au roy": *Continueur Français de Guillaume de Nangis*, Quicherat, iv. 313 (N.B.—1429, new style).

† Depositions of Dunois : Quicherat, iii. 12, 13.

clusion.* She came; she gave her advice; it was followed; Troyes surrendered; and the King proceeded to Reims. What the impression was on the English side we learn from Jean Wawrin, who, referring to deliberations held at Orleans, says: "to which councils the Maid was always called, who at that time was of great influence."†

We turn now to the question of her military skill. Dunois, who is described as the greatest French general of his time, deposes upon oath "that he thinks Jeanne to have been sent by God, and that her deeds in war were rather from Divine inspiration than from human spirit."‡ He proceeds to prove this at length by recounting some of the wonderful events which he himself had witnessed.

Next, the Duc d'Alençon, who was constantly with Jeanne from the very beginning, deposes as follows:—"In all her deeds, except in matters of war, Jeanne was very simple and youthful (*juvenis*); but in matters of war she was very expert, as well in carrying the lance as in gathering together an army and arranging battles, and in the preparing of artillery; and about this everyone wondered that she acted so cautiously and prudently in matters of war, as though she had been a captain who had

* *Chronique de la Pucelle*, pp. 316-17.

† "Esquelz consaulz estoit toujours appelée la pucelle, quy pors lors estoit en grand règne": *Recueil des Chroniques, etc.* Rolls Publications, vol. iii. p. 281. London, 1879.

‡ *Depositions of Dunois*: Quicherat, iii. 100.

been exercised in war for twenty or thirty years, and especially in the preparing of artillery, for she acted exceedingly well in this matter.”*

Another soldier, Theobald de Termes, gives evidence: “In the leading and placing of soldiers and in matters of war, and in arranging battles and animating the soldiers, she bore herself as though she had been the most skilled captain in the world, who had been brought up in warfare all her life.”†

Lastly, her squire, Jean d’Aulon, her constant attendant throughout her whole military career, who was also taken prisoner with her at Compiègne, says: “All the deeds of the said Maid seem to me to be divine and miraculous deeds rather than otherwise, for it was impossible that so young a girl should do such things without the will and guidance of Our Lord.”‡

She was a little over seventeen when she raised the siege of Orleans.

The statements, therefore, in the *Quarterly Review* are explicitly contradicted by the original and authentic documents. The princes and chiefs, summoned to give evidence after a lapse, not of a few days, but of five and twenty years, absolutely deny what they are credited with stating.

* Depositions of Duc d’Alençon : Quicherat, iii. 3.

† Depositions of Theobald de Termes : Quicherat, iii. 120.

‡ Depositions of Jean d’Aulon : Quicherat, iii. 218.

II.—HISTORIES UNSUPPORTED BY ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

The next case is one of histories unsupported by original documents. It is concisely stated by Mr. Green :—“ With the coronation of Charles, the Maid felt her errand to be over. ‘ O gentle King, the pleasure of God is done,’ she cried, as she flung herself at the feet of Charles VII., and asked leave to go home. ‘ Would it were his pleasure,’ she pleaded with the Archbishop, as he forced her to remain, ‘ that I might go and keep sheep once more with my sisters and my brothers ; they would be so glad to see me.’ ”*

Such is the popular legend, spread far and wide by the Catalogue of Madame Tussaud’s Exhibition.† Let us ask the writers to provide us with their authorities.

They are the following : The *Journal du Siège d’Orléans* says :—“ When the Maid saw that the King was anointed and crowned, she knelt down, in the presence of all the lords, before him, and embracing his knees, said to him, as she wept hot tears : ‘ Gentle

* *Short History of the English People*, p. 278.

† “ After she had seen Charles crowned at Reims, she considered her mission accomplished and wished to return to her village. But the King and the courtiers persuaded her to stay, though from that time she had lost confidence in herself” : *Catalogue*, 1890, p. 27 ; No. 225, *Joan of Arc*.

King, now is accomplished the pleasure of God Who wished that I should raise the siege of Orleans, and that I should bring you to this city of Reims to receive your sacred anointing, showing thereby that you are true King, and he to whom the kingdom of France should belong.' And it caused very great compassion in all those who beheld her."*

The next passage is from the depositions of Dunois. About the middle of August, a month after the coronation at Reims, Jeanne was riding with Dunois on one side and the Archbishop of Reims on the other. As they passed through the country about Crespy-en-Valois and Dammartin, the people came out with great rejoicings to meet the King. Upon this Jeanne exclaimed: "This is a good people, and I have not seen any other people rejoice so much at approach of the noble King. And would that I could be so fortunate, when I shall finish my days, as to be buried in this land." "Oh, Jeanne," replied the Archbishop, "in what place do you expect to die?" "Where it shall please God," she answered, "for I am not certain either about the time or the place any more than you are; and would that it might please God, my Creator, that I might now withdraw, putting aside my arms, and that I could go to serve my father and mother in taking care of their sheep, with my sister and

* *Journal du Siège d'Orléans*. Quicherat, iv. 186. See also the variant reading in the *Chronique de la Pucelle*, p. 322.

my brothers, who would be very glad to see me."*

There is no record of any reply having been made; but the *Chronique de la Pucelle* adds that as she said this, raising up her eyes to Heaven, they considered more than ever that she was "a thing come from God."† A testimony that her thoughts were fixed upon God rather than turned towards home.

There is one more passage, and that again is from the depositions of Dunois:—"Lastly, amongst other things the said deponent says, when interrogated upon this, that although the said Jeanne sometimes playfully spoke about deeds of arms, to animate the men at arms, and about many things relating to the war, which were not carried into effect; nevertheless when she spoke seriously about the war, about her own deeds and her vocation, she never made an affirmative assertion beyond that she was sent to raise the siege of Orleans

* Depositions of Dunois: Quicherat, iii. 14. See also *Chronique de la Pucelle*, p. 326, *Journal du Siège*, Quicherat, iv. 188-9. M. Vallet (de Viriville), *Histoire de Charles VII.* vol. ii. p. 109, comments as follows:—"Dans ces paroles, croyons nous, la Pucelle n'exprimait pas ouvertement sa pensée. Coupe ou calicé, l'héroïne devait épuiser, jusqu'à la lie, ce breuvage où ses lèvres avaient trempé. Non, elle ne regrettait pas les humbles occupations de son enfance, qu'elle avait oubliées pour de plus grands travaux. Si Jeanne, après le sacre, eut voulu sérieusement retourner à ses brebis, le roi n'avait-il pas assez 'pitié d'elle'? Les ministres, R. de Chartres et Dunois lui-même, en ce cas, de concert avec le maître, l'eussent unanimement conviée à se 'reposer'!" (*Procès Quicherat*, iii. 116.)

† "Ils creurent mieulx que c'estoit chose venue de par Dieu qu'autrement": p. 326.

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and to succour the people that were oppressed in that city and in the surrounding places, and to conduct the King to Reims, for the anointing of the same King.”*

These are the passages upon which this legend appears to be built. We are told that the King begged her to stay, and we ask for the authority ; but it cannot be produced. The Archbishop inquired where she thought she should die. By what rule of interpretation does this mean “ He forced her to remain ” ? Nothing of the kind is to be found in any one of the writings of the fifteenth century.

“ She now regarded her mission as accomplished and her inspiration as fled,” says Lord Mahon.† “ She felt her errand to be over,” says Mr. Green.‡ She “ believed that her mission was accomplished,” adds Sir Edward Creasy.§

When the judges at Rouen took upon themselves to make a similar statement and informed Jeanne that she had had an order from God to enter the town of La Charité, she promptly replied : “ Who told you that I had an order about it from God ? ” ||

The maxim holds good ; *Quod gratis asseritur gratis negatur*. That her mission had ended, her inspiration had fled, is a gratuitous assertion ; it may fairly be met by a gratuitous denial.

* Depositions of Dunois : Quicherat, iii. 16.

† *Quarterly Review*, March, 1842, p. 313.

‡ *Short History of the English People*, p. 278.

§ *Fifteen Decisive Battles*, chap. ix. p. 214.

|| (3rd March) 1431 : Taxil, p. 168 ; Quicherat, i. 109.

III.—PHASES OF THE HISTORY OF THE MAID IN SUCCESSIVE CENTURIES.

SINCE neither the alleged Coronation scene nor the theory deduced from it is to be found in any of the writings of the fifteenth century, it will naturally be asked how the legend arose.

The history of the Maid has gone through a variety of phases. The authentic documents of Jeanne's own period have already been noticed. The fifteenth century may be termed the century of historical fact. People were still living who had been eye-witnesses of the actual occurrences, or had heard them related by those who had personal knowledge of them.

With the sixteenth century came the classical revival, and the fashion for describing persons and things in the mythological language of the pagan poets. In accordance with this Jeanne is represented as leaving the nymphs of her streams and the Diana of her woods to become a votive of Mars.* Next she is a "beautiful Amazon," and she lives and dies like Hercules.†

The supernatural has gone and the purely natural has taken its place. This is the key to the theories. When Jeanne was degraded to

* See the passages cited by M. Lecoy de la Marche, *Le Culte de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 20-27 : Orleans, 1889. See also the chapter by M. Marius Sepet, *Jeanne d'Arc dans les Lettres*, in the Appendix to M. Wallon's *Jeanne d'Arc*, illustrated edition, pp. 421-488 : Paris, 1876.

† *Epigramme sur la Pucelle d'Orléans* (1613). *Poésies de Malherbe*, p. 162 : Paris, 1822.

the level of a mere heroine, the mainspring of whose actions was merely human, then explanations of a purely human character stepped in to solve the difficulties in the history of her career. Moreover, since the original documents existed for the most part only in manuscript, the public were in possession of but little authentic information.*

In the seventeenth century the Maid was almost forgotten. The eighteenth century gives an example of its scepticism in the pages of Hume, the friend of Jean Jacques Rousseau ; and it was further poisoned by the infamous hero-comic poem of Voltaire. The nineteenth century opened with an inheritance of scepticism—incredulous of the supernatural, credulous of anything else.

The pedigree of the legend may be stated as follows :—

Fifteenth century	Legend absent.
Sixteenth century :—			
1534.	Polydore Vergilius	...	Legend absent.
1548.	Hall	”
1569.	Grafton	”
1577.	Holinshed	”
1580.	Stow	”

* “Cinquante ans environ après la mort de Jeanne d’Arc, toute notion exacte et vraie de cette héroïne s’était éteinte, avec les témoins oculaires, au sein des nouvelles générations. Des lors un type romanesque, arbitraire, un masque changeant, mais toujours mensonger, recouvrit en quelque sorte, de siècle en siècle, cette noble figure. Nous croyons pouvoir a juste titre revendiquer pour l’érudition moderne et contemporaine (Quicherat, *Procès*) le mérite d’avoir enfin dissipé ces erreurs et restitué à ce modèle ses véritables traits historiques.”
—Vallet (de Viriville), *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. iii. p. 356.

THE MAID OF ORLEANS

BY THE LIGHT OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.*

1. *Mémoires et Consultations en Faveur de Jeanne d'Arc.* Par PIERRE LANÉRY D'ARC. Paris: 1889.
2. *La Pucelle devant l'Eglise de son temps.* Par JEAN BAPTISTE JOSEPH AYROLES, S.J. Paris: 1890.
3. *Le Martyre de Jeanne d'Arc.* Par LÉO TAXIL et PAUL FESCH. Paris: 1890.

IN the course of the last twelve months,† three books have been published, which place within the reach of the general public many of the principal and original documents relating to the Maid of Orleans. In 1841, Quicherat undertook for the *Société de l'Histoire de France* the publication of the Latin texts of the *Processes of the Condemnation and Rehabilitation of Jeanne d'Arc.*‡ There were, however, some omissions, notably amongst the written deliberations of theologians who were consulted when, in 1455, by direction of Pope Calixtus III., the sentence of condemnation was subjected to a searching inquiry.

* Reprinted, with permission, from the *Dublin Review*, January, 1891.

† This was written in August, 1890.

‡ *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc.* Publiés par Jules Quicherat. Paris: 1841-49. 5 vols.

These omissions have been supplied by M. Pierre Lanéry d'Arc, who has published the original Latin text of the consultations. They fill an octavo volume of 600 pages. Amongst them is the *Recollectio*, or summing up of all the evidence and consultations, by Jean Bréhal, Inquisitor for France. In accordance with the Rescript of Calixtus III. his assistance had been required by the Papal Delegates. These were the Archbishop of Reims and the Bishops of Paris and of Coutances. In this *Recollectio*, which occupies over 160 pages, all the questions affecting Jeanne d'Arc are exhaustively treated, both from a theological and a legal point of view. Bréhal concludes by saying that the process, both as to matter and form, and likewise the sentence, contains a "manifest injustice."

At the time that M. d'Arc's book was being issued, Father Ayroles, S.J., had already in the press a work on the same general subject. His book gives a history of the investigations into the Mission of Jeanne d'Arc from her arrival in 1429 at the Court of Charles VII. to the close of the Process of Rehabilitation, July 7th, 1456, when the sentence of condemnation was solemnly reversed and annulled. He further gives an analysis of the Consultations already referred to, reproducing the most important passages. In order that it may gain readers whom Latin might deter, the whole of the work is in French.

Lastly, the combined labours of M. Léo

Taxil and the Abbé Paul Fesch have given to the public a French version of the complete records of the Process of Condemnation, annotated with copious extracts from the Process of Rehabilitation. A quarto edition of this work is promised, which will contain the Latin text side by side with the translation, and also facsimiles by photography of the more important documents.

The aim of the following pages is to draw a faithful picture of the trial of Jeanne at Rouen, based throughout upon the original documents. In order to give unity to the picture, and to place events and arguments in their due sequence, the sketch takes the form of a connected narrative. An apology is nevertheless due for presenting much matter which is already familiar to students of history.*

I. Jeanne, the daughter of Jacques d'Arc and Isabelle Rommée, was born on the 6th of January, 1412, in the village of Domremy, on

* Except where footnotes indicate other sources, quoted passages are taken from the *Procès de Condamnation*, and may be referred to, either in Léo Taxil's volume, *Le Martyre de Jeanne d'Arc*, or in Quicherat, vol. i. For the sake of brevity the *Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, edited by Quicherat, will throughout be cited simply as Quicherat, with the number of the volume and page. Likewise, *La Pucelle devant l'Église de son temps* and *Le Martyre de Jeanne d'Arc* will be cited by the name of the author only, viz., Ayroles and Taxil respectively.

N.B.—The report of the trials is almost entirely in *indirect* discourse, though at times the actual words are given as spoken. To avoid tediousness I have turned the questions and answers back into *direct* discourse, which makes the narration more lifelike.

the border of France and Lorraine. Her parents were simple peasants of good reputation,* who lived in a little cottage close to the parish church. Jeanne learned the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Apostles' Creed, and was brought up from her infancy in habits of faith and piety. "My mother taught me all that I know of the Faith." Her behaviour in church was so devout as to excite the admiration of all the villagers.† She was frequent at Confession and Holy Communion.‡ Her few pence were bestowed upon those poorer than herself, or spent in candles to burn at the shrine of Our Lady of Bermont.§ In the fields, at the sound of the church bell she would stop her work, kneel down, make the sign of the Cross, and lift up her soul to God.|| Such was the simple girl that was to leave her distaff and needle and her work in a peasant's cottage to take the command of armies in the field.

When she was at the age of thirteen years the Archangel Michael appeared to her, and afterwards St. Catherine and St. Margaret. She understood that they were sent by God, and when she had need of their help she would pray God to send them to her. "I invoke

* Dep. of Jean Morell, etc., Quich. ii. 388-468.

† Dep. of H. Gerard, etc., Quich. ii. 418, 420, 422, 430, 459, 461.

‡ Dep. of J. Morell, etc., Quich. ii. 390, 404, 407, 409, 420.

§ Dep. of Isabelle Gerardin, etc., Quich. ii. 427, 425, 398, 433, 440, 443.

|| Dep. of S. Musnier, Quich. ii. 424 ; J. Waterin ii. 420.

2. n. f.



them thus," she said at Rouen : " Most sweet God, in honour of Thy sacred passion, I beg of Thee, if Thou lovest me, to reveal to me how I am to answer. . . . For this, may it please Thee to teach me. And then my voices come to me at once." From the time of the first apparition to the end of her life these Saints took her under their direction to guide and help her in the service of God. " Sois bonne enfant, et Dieu t'aidera," said St. Michael to her.

While this beautiful and simple soul was being thus sanctified by the grace of God, and assisted by the continual counsel of the Saints in the way of holiness, her docility and obedience to the will of God were about to be put to a severe test. It was early in the year 1428, when she was but just sixteen years of age, that her great mission was laid before her. Two or three times a week the voices said to her : " Depart, and go into France, it is necessary." The voices told her that she should raise the siege of Orleans, and that to this end she was to go to Robert de Baudricourt, Governor of Vaucouleurs, and that he would give her the necessary means. Then she replied to the voices : " I am but a poor girl, neither knowing how to ride on horseback nor to carry on war." Obedient, however, to the call, she left her home, and in May, 1428, under the care of an uncle, she went to Vaucouleurs. She had never seen Robert de Baudricourt ;

but when she came into his presence her voices said to her: "That is he." Then she addressed him with these words: "It is necessary that I should go into France." Twice he sent her away refusing to listen to her.* But, finally, he provided her with an escort of a knight, a squire, and four attendants; and taking from them an oath that they would conduct her safely and well, he sent her on her journey with the words: "Va et advienne que pourra." Her girl's dress of coarse red stuff had been exchanged for man's dress.† She wore a black hat, and her dark hair was cut in a round above the ears.‡ She carried a sword given her by Robert de Baudricourt. As her mission was one in which she would be constantly amongst men, it seemed fitting that she should appear as a man.§ The dress was a

* Dep. of D. Laxart, Quich. ii. 444; Katharina Rotarius, ii. 446.

† Dep. of J. de Novelonpont, Quich. ii. 436; H. Rotarius, ii. 448/457. etc.

‡ *Relation extraite du Livre Noir de la Rochelle*, p. 19. Orléans: 1879.

§ *Mém. et Consultations*, Archbishop Gelu, p. 584; *Chronique de la Pucelle*, ed. Vallet (de Viriville), Paris, 1859, pp. 276, 314. In a learned dissertation prefixed to this edition, M. Vallet (de Viriville) has conclusively established the author of the *Chronique de la Pucelle* to have been Cousinot de Montreuil, a man of note who occupied State posts of high importance under Charles VII. In 1451 he was sent on an embassy to Scotland; but, being shipwrecked on the English coast, he was taken prisoner and passed three years of captivity in England. He was born prior to 1400, and died in 1484, or soon after.

Wherever the *Chronique de la Pucelle* is cited in these pages, it is this edition of M. Vallet that is referred to.

means towards the fulfilment of her mission, and to her mind was co-extensive with it. "When I shall have done that for which I have been sent by God, I will take the dress of a woman." Nor did she, who would rather "have been torn asunder by four horses than have come into France without the permission of God," assume this dress of her own fancy. "I have neither taken this dress nor done anything, but upon the order of God and His Angels."

From Vaucouleurs she rode through the midst of the country occupied by the English, and early in March, 1429, she reached the neighbourhood of Tours.* The Dauphin Charles was at the Castle of Chinon. Jeanne, admitted into his presence, singled him out from the courtiers and addressed him thus: † "God give you good life, gentle Dauphin." "It is not I that am the King," he replied; "there he is." "In the name of God, gentle Prince, it is you and not another," rejoined Jeanne. He inquired what her name was. "Gentle Dauphin, I am named Jeanne the Maid, and the King of Heaven sends you word through me that you shall be anointed and crowned in the city of Reims, and that you shall be the lieutenant of the King of Heaven, Who is the King of France." ‡

* For Itinerary, see Quich. v. 377-382, and *Footsteps of Jeanne d'Arc*, by Florence Caddy, London, 1886, p. 97.

† Jean Chartier, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, ed. Denys Godefroy, 1661, p. 19; and Quich. iv. 52.

‡ Dep. of Jean Pasquerel, Quich. iii. 103.

Then she made known to him what no one knew or could have known but God and himself; and she added: "I tell thee from my Lord that thou art true heir of France, and son of the King; and He sends me to thee to lead thee to Reims, that there thou mayest receive thy coronation and consecration, if thou wilt."*

It was a prayer that he had made in secret to God that she had revealed to him.† Charles was satisfied; yet he was not in a position to place the conduct of the war in the hands of a mere girl, till others also should admit the authenticity of her mission. Jeanne was therefore sent to Poitiers, where for the space of three weeks she was examined by an assembly of ecclesiastics, presided over by the Archbishop of Reims, who was assisted by the Inquisitor-General of that part of France.‡ The proceedings were taken down in writing, but unfortunately, even before 1455 the MS. had disappeared, and it is not known what became of it. That it existed there is no doubt; and Jeanne refers to it again and again at Rouen: "I wish you had a copy of that

* "Ego dico tibi ex parte de Messire, que tu es vray héritier de France, et filz du roy; et me mittit ad te pro te ducendo Remis, ut ibi recipias coronationem et consecrationem tuam, si volueris." Dep. of Pasquerel, Quich. iii. 103.

† L'Abréviateur du Procez; *Le Miroir des Femmes vertueuses*, Pierre Sala; apud Quich. iv. 258, 271, 280. See also *Chronique de la Pucelle*, p. 274.

‡ Ayroles, pp. 1-19; Dep. of G. Thibault and S. Seguin; Quich. iii. 74, 202.

book which is at Poitiers. It is written at Poitiers. It is entered in the registers at Poitiers." There remain, however, the conclusions of the assembly. They are to the effect that they had proved the Maid (1) by human prudence and (2) by asking a sign from God. First, they say that in the six weeks she had been at Chinon and Poitiers they had found "nothing wrong in her, but on the contrary goodness, humility, virginity, devotion, uprightness, and simplicity." Secondly, they state that the Maid would show them the sign "before Orleans, and not previously nor elsewhere," for that thus it was ordained by God.* Already in this document and in others of the same year, 1429, Jeanne is uniformly termed *Puella* in Latin, *La Pucelle* in French. The whole of the West of Europe was moved at the deeds of this girl of seventeen. She was par excellence *The Maid, Puella, La Pucelle*. "Before the raising of the siege of Orleans, and since, every day, when my voices have spoken to me, they have often called me Jeanne la Pucelle, fille de Dieu." Only her enemies refused her this title, calling her in disdain *femme, femmelette, mulier, muliercula*. Shakespeare is equally in accord with truth when he terms her *La Pucelle*, as when he puts into the mouths of her enemies the foulest reproaches.†

* Quich. iii. 391-2; Ayroles, pp. 14, 685. Confirmed by Dep. of Jean d'Aulon, Quich. iii. 209.

† *Henry VI.*

The assembly therefore recommends the Dauphin to cause her to be suitably conducted with an army to Orleans, placing their trust in God. "For to despise her," they added, "would be to resist the Holy Spirit, and to render oneself unworthy of the help of God."* In similar terms Archbishop Gelu advised the Dauphin, writing from his See of Embrun in May of the same year.†

We pass over the wonderful events of the following months; how with ten or twelve thousand men she arrived before Orleans on the 29th of April, entered the town in the face of the enemy, with a convoy of provisions, and raised the siege on the 8th of May. Then she repaired once more to the Dauphin. To be fully recognised as King of France it was necessary that he should be crowned and anointed at Reims.‡ Thither she led him, triumphantly opening the way through the midst of the enemy till, on the 17th of July, she stood with her banner in the Cathedral at Reims at the solemn coronation of King Charles VII.

Here her mission is often represented as having ended. "Gentle King," she said as she fell at his feet, "now is accomplished the good pleasure of God, Who willed that you should come to Reims to receive your sacred

* Ayroles, p. 14; Quich. iii. 392.

† *Mémoires et Consultations*, p. 598.

‡ "Negabantque (Galli) verum esse regem, qui hoc oleo non sit delibutus."—Pius II., Quich. iv. 513.

La Sainte Vierge de Reims. Première Edition de 1812

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anointing, showing thereby that you are a true King, and he to whom the kingdom should belong."* About a month later a chance conversation led her to use these words: "And I would that it pleased God, my Creator, that I could return now, leaving my arms, and that I could go back to serve my father and mother, in taking care of their flocks with my sister and my brothers, who would be very glad to see me."†

Upon the foregoing passages appears to have been founded the theory that the coronation at Reims saw the end of Jeanne's mission. Were this theory true, it would be in harmony with Jeanne's other sayings, with her acts, and with contemporary records. But her other words, her acts, and all the writings and documents of the fifteenth century are full of evidence to the effect that her mission was not bounded by Reims.‡ And the whole tenour of her answers at Rouen shows that she did not think her mission even then to be ended.

The truer interpretation of the words quoted

* "Gentil roy, or es est exécuté le plaisir de Dieu, qui vouloit que vinssiez à Rheims recevoir votre digne sacre, en monstrant que vous estes vray roy, et celuy auquel le royaume doit appart^{t/} tenir!"—*Chronique de la Pucelle*, p. 322. See also *Journal du Siège d'Orleans*, Quich. iv. 186. ^{H/}

† Dep. of Dunois, Quich. iii. 14, and *Chronique de la Pucelle*, p. 326.

‡ "Inferens quod habitus ille finibus suæ legationis congruebat quam, necdum ut apparet, peractam credebat."—Bréhal, *Mem. et Cons.*, pp. 447, 531.

above is that they express her joy and gratitude at the accomplishment of what she had foretold with so much persistence, and had brought about in spite of the hesitation and reluctance of others. If at the same time she revealed her natural longing for the quiet of her home, this is but what she had twice already expressed. But her will was subordinate to the will of God.

The coronation of the King was clearly thus not the sole end for which her mission was undertaken. It was rather a means to an end. For the end was not only the establishment of the rightful sovereign upon the throne, but thereby the restoration of peace to France, and the consecration of the country to God.* The presence of the English in France kept up a state of bitter warfare between the two powers, and further led to endless discords and civil strife, so that the unhappy country was nothing less than the scene of a universal brigandage.† Who does not know what evils to the souls of men accompany such a state of things? Peace then, and as its consequence the establishment of a truly Christian kingdom in France were, it would seem, the full ends of her mission.

Towards the end of May, 1430, she went to the relief of Compiègne, closely besieged by the

* Chancellor Gerson, Ayroles, p. 28; Archbishop Gelu, *Mémoires et Consult.* p. 571, etc.; Dep. of Bertrand de Poulengey, Qu'ch. ii. 456.

† "Magnum latrocinium, spelunca latronum"—Martin Berruier, Bishop of Mans. *Mémoires et Consult.*, p. 245.

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Burgundians, who were at bitter enmity with Charles VII. In a sortie on the 24th of May she fell into the hands of the Burgundians.* Great were the rejoicings. Monstrelet, the Burgundian chronicler, writes: "Those of the party of Burgundy and the English were very happy, more so than if they had taken 500 combatants; for they feared and redoubted no captain nor any other chief in war so much, as up to the present they had always feared this maiden."† To be quit once and for all of so formidable a foe was the immediate thought of her opponents. She was their Samson. So early as the 26th of May the Secretary of the University of Paris addresses a letter, under the seal of the Inquisitor, to the Duke of Burgundy, summoning him quickly to hand over Jeanne to be proceeded against, with the

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* Authorities differ as to whether Jeanne was taken on the 23rd or 24th of May. The foundation for the 23rd is the letter of the Duke of Burgundy announcing the capture (Quich. v. 166). On the other hand Monstrelet, who was in the Burgundian Camp, says that she was taken on the Vigil of the Ascension (Quich. iv. 400; also G. Chastellain, *ibid.* 445). Now Ascension Day in that year was Thursday, May 25th, as we learn from the entry made by Clément de Fauquemberque, Secretary to the Parliament of Paris during the English occupation (Quich. iv. 458). Hence the Vigil of the Ascension must have been the 24th. This date receives support from Perceval de Cagny, of the household of the Duc d'Alençon, who states that Jeanne left Crespy on the 23rd about midnight, and entered Compiègne about sunrise, *i.e.*, on the 24th (Quich. iv. 32-3).

† Monstrelet, *Chroniques de Charles VII.*, p. 58, folio ed. 1572. See also Dep. of Pierre Miget., Quich. iii. 130; ii. 301, 324, 344, 360; and the proclamation headed: "*De Fugitivis ab Exercitu, quos terriculamenta PUELLÆ exanimaverunt, arrestandis, xii. Dec. 1430*": Rymer, *Fœdera*, London, 1710, vol. x. p. 472.

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help of the University, as publishing and dogmatising about many and divers errors against the Faith. The University, in its own name also, wrote letters to the Duke of Burgundy. But no answer was returned. They became fearful lest the Maid should be rescued or ransomed for this, they said, would be a greater misfortune than ever, and "an intolerable offence against the Divine Majesty."

Therefore Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, was entrusted with a mission to the Duke of Burgundy. On the 14th of July, 1430, he arrived at the camp of the Duke, and formally presented a summons to the Duke and to John of Luxemburg, demanding them in the name of the King of England to send Jeanne to the King that he might hand her over to the Church to be tried for various crimes, such as sorcery, idolatry, and others. The summons concluded by reciting, that according to the custom of France, the ransom of a king was fixed at ten thousand francs,* about £2,455, and by offering that sum as the price of the prisoner. A tax was levied upon Normandy to raise the amount. The sum was paid over in gold. And finally, towards the end of November, "the prisoner of war," † not ransomed, but sold, was given over

* Equal to 61,125f. 69c. of present money, *intrinsic* value. The *relative* value would be much greater. Wallon, *Jeanne d'Arc*, illustr. ed. 1876, p. 216.

† Receipt of Jehan Bruyse to the Receiver-General of Normandy for the purchase-money of the Maid, dated December 6th, 1430. Quich. v. 192.

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to her bitterest enemies to be tried by the very judge who had bargained about her price.

Shortly before the end of December the Maid was brought to Rouen. There, in the month of July, the boy-king, Henry VI., had already arrived. Jeanne was placed in the Castle of Rouen as a prisoner of the English king. She was kept chained by night as well as by day, and an iron cage was made for her.*

On January 3rd, 1431, letters were issued in the name of the King to the officers in charge of Jeanne, commanding them to produce her, whenever required, before the Bishop of Beauvais and others who should be ordered to assist at her trial. "In any case," the letter concluded, "it is our intention to have again, and to take back before ourselves, the said Jeanne, if so it should be that she should not be convicted or attainted in the aforesaid matters, or in any of them, or in any other thing touching or regarding our said faith." From the very outset, therefore, it was never intended that Jeanne should be elsewhere than in the custody of the King's officers. It was for Pierre Cauchon and his terrorised assessors to try the saintly girl and to pass a sentence.† The real reason of her death would thus be veiled. But should the trial fail she would still remain in the

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* Dep. of Jean Massieu, Quich. ii. 18, 371 ; iii. 155 ; P. Cusquel, ii. 306, 340 ; iii. 180 ; Pierre Daron, iii. 199 ; *Mémoires et Consult.*, J. Bréhal, p. 496.

† Dep. of J. Massieu, etc., Quich. iii. 154, 171, 189 ; Thos. Basin, *Mémoires et Consult.* p. 193 ; Bréhal, p. 498.

keeping of the English soldiers, in violation not only of the ecclesiastical, but also of the civil law.*

II. On January 9th the preliminary letters and citations were issued. On February 21st the Maid was brought before the Court to be interrogated. The picture which the series of questions and answers presents to the mind's eye is most striking and touching. Jeanne sat alone before the Bishop and his assessors, who numbered often as many as fifty.† No one was allowed to assist her or advise her in her answers.‡ Sole and unaided she was expected to reply at once to whatever she was asked. Often before she had ended her reply to one question, someone else would put to her another.

“Beaux seigneurs,” she would say, “faites l'un après l'autre.”§

“The questions put to her,” deposes the Dominican Isambard de la Pierre, “were too difficult, subtle, and captious; so much so that the high ecclesiastical and well-lettered men, who were there present, would with great difficulty themselves have known how to answer them.”||

Yet Jeanne answers them all with a simpli-

* *Mémoires et Consult.*, Thos. Basin, p. 198; J. Bréhal, p. 501.

† *Mémoires et Consult.*, J. Bréhal, p. 497; Dep. of P. Bouchier, Quich. ii. 322.

‡ Quich. ii. 5, 10, 11, 17, 334, 343; sed contra, ii. 351.

§ Dep. of J. Massieu, Quich. ii. 16, 332; iii. 155.

|| Dep. of Is. de la Pierre, Quich. ii. 5. See also J. Bréhal, *Mém. et Consult.* p. 530.

Seventeenth century :—

1632. Speed ... Her chief employment accomplished at Reims.
 1646. Mézeray ... Overstepped the bounds of her mission in going beyond Reims.

Eighteenth century :—

1713. Daniel ... Encouraged by Dunois and the Archbishop to continue her work.
 1720. Echard ... Copies Speed.
 1724. Rapin ... Full Coronation scene.
 1753. Lenglet-Dufresnoy ... " "
 1761. Hume ... Exhorted by Dunois to proceed.
 1763. Villaret ... Certain that she asked and that the King refused.

Nineteenth century :—

1817. Le Brun de Charmettes. Quotes Villaret.
 1825. Lingard ... Full Coronation scene.
 1842. Lord Mahon ... " "
 1874. Green ... " *"

* Speed, *The Historie of Great Britaine*, p. 818, London, 1632:—" And Rheimes where according to the Maides direction, he was solemnly crowned King. Hitherto shee might be thought propheticall and fortunate. It should seem now that the chiefe part of her imployment was accomplished, yet shee flourished a while longer."

Mézeray, *Histoire de France depuis Faramond jusqu'à maintenant*, vol. ii., pp. 16, 17. Paris, 1646:—" Saintrailles et la Pucelle qui estoient dedans (Compiègne) sortirent dessus avec six cens hommes ; mais comme elle outrepassoit sa commission, ainsi qu'elle le reconnut par après, et portoit encore les armes après avoir fait sacrer le Roy, Dieu qui est jaloux qu'on luy obéisse ponctuellement, n'estoit plus obligé de continuer les miracles en sa faveur. Par ainsi l'ennemy ayant rudement rembaré les François, et elle s'estant opiniaté à faire teste sur

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It thus appears that the legend was unknown for full two hundred years after Jeanne's death, when it shows signs of life in the pages of Speed in England, and of Mézeray in France. But it requires ninety more years of incubation till, in the hands of Rapin, it becomes fully developed. After forty more years its position has become undisputed. Villaret states it as "certain." He is followed by Le Brun de Charmettes, by Lingard, and by Lord Mahon. Green gives it a picturesque and dramatic character which lends it all the appearance of authentic history; and the Catalogue of Madame Tussaud's Exhibition impresses it daily upon the sympathetic imaginations of men, women, and children.

In France the legend was rejected in 1844 by the Abbé Pie, afterwards Bishop of Poitiers and Cardinal.* M. Wallon† and Father Ayroles also reject it;‡ in England it is omitted by Miss Parr in her *Life and Death of Jeanne*

la retraite, elle trouva la barrière fermée par la trahison de Guillaume Flavy, Gouverneur de la Ville."

Rapin, *History of England*, (Tindal's translation), vol. i., p. 550, London, 1732:—"Thus everything succeeding to his wish Charles entered Rheims in triumph, and was crowned presently after. The ceremony being ended, Joan would have retired, affirming she had nothing more to do, after executing what God had commanded. But the King pressed her so earnestly, that at last he prevailed with her to stay."

* *Éloge de Jeanne d'Arc* (du 8 Mai, 1844), par M. l'Abbé Pie, p. 20, Orléans, 1890.

† *Jeanne d'Arc*, ed. illus., p. 154, Paris, 1876.

‡ *La Pucelle devant l'Eglise de son temps*, pp. 79-80, etc.

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d'Arc ;* in Australia it is set aside by Cardinal Moran.†

With the original documents at hand it is time to break with fictions copied by one writer from another and embellished by each successive hand.‡ True and well-authenticated history must now displace the misrepresentations and errors that have gathered round our biographies of the Maid. The truth is to be obtained—to use the words of Leo XIII.—“adeundis rerum fontibus,” by having recourse to the actual fountains and sources themselves.§

But the history of the Maid is something more than a collection of well-authenticated facts. It is also a study of the workings of God's grace in the soul, and of His chastisements and love in His dealings with nations.

IV.—AFFIRMATIVE EVIDENCE AS TO HER MISSION.

WE have now to establish by positive rather than by negative arguments that the Maid's Mission was of much wider scope than to be limited by the Coronation at Reims, and that it extended to the end of her life.

* London, 1866.

† *Occasional Papers*, by His Eminence Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, N.S.W., pp. 165, 172, Dublin, 1890.

‡ “La plupart de nos historiens qui se copient les uns des autres.”—Voltaire, *XVIIIe. Sottise de Nonnotte, sur Jeanne d'Arc; Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*. Paris, 1877-82, vol. xxiv.; Mélanges iii., p. 498.

§ *Epistola SS. PP. Leonis XIII. de Studiis Historicis*. August 18th, 1883.

The voices of Jeanne, says Jean Bréhal, Chief Inquisitor for France in 1456, conducted her towards two ends: the first, to personal holiness; secondly, to her active works which, as is well known, were salutary, not only to the people of France, but also to the whole of Christianity, and useful to the service of God.*

To appreciate this statement it will be well to refer to the condition of France at that time. It is thus described by Martin Berruyer, Bishop of Mans, writing under the date of April 7th, 1456:—"At the time when the revelation was given to the Maid the kingdom of France was in a terrible state of desolation, and was overwhelmed by many grievous calamities and evils, both spiritual and temporal. Justice, indeed, was banished from the kingdom. For what was the kingdom but one great brigandage? What but a cave of robbers? The inhabitants of the kingdom were exposed as a prey to everything. Some were perishing by sword and famine, some by pestilence, some by the sword, some by harsh imprisonments and torments. Some fled to the neighbouring lands. On the one side towns were deserted, houses were without inhabitants, fields without a cultivator, churches without the worship of God and left without priests. Nowhere was there peace, nowhere security, everywhere terror; fear within, the sword without, and not only outside, but even within cities there

* *Mémoires et Consultations*, p. 372.

were most cruel slaughters of people and a most inhuman shedding of much Christian blood: every virtue at that time lay trodden under foot by the feet of the impious. Rumour came upon rumour of wars and of all kinds of evil; mouths were turned aside to lies, to perjuries, to blasphemies; hands were stretched out to sacrileges, murders, adulteries, debauchery, pillage, robberies, and to every other unspeakable crime of the kind that in time of war, when justice and every virtue are buried, can or are accustomed to reign.”*

To deliver France, he continues, from these evils was the mission for which God, in His mercy and compassion, destined the Maid.†

“St. Michael,” said Jeanne, “told me to come to the succour of the King of France.”‡

Amongst all the sayings of the Maid there is none more frequent or emphatic than the assertion that she was sent by God. “Most noble Dauphin,” she said to Charles, “I have come and am sent by God to give help to you and to the kingdom.”§

* *Mémoires et Consultations, etc.*, pp. 245-6. See also Beaumont, *Histoire de Charles VII.*, vol. ii. p. 181. apud Ayroles p. 15; Archbishop Gelu, Quicherat, iii. 399, and Ayroles, p., 41; *Wars of the English in France, Henry VI.: Rolls Publications*, vol. i. p. xxxvii.-xl., London, 1861; *Histoire de Charles VII.*, by Thomas Basin, Bishop of Lisieux, vol. i. p. 45; *Chronique de la Pucelle*, p. 273.

† *Mémoires et Consultations, etc.*, p. 246. Compare *Acts of the Apostles* vii. 31-34.

‡ March 15th, 1431: Taxil, p. 213; Quicherat, i. 171. The year 1429 was a year of universal pilgrimage to Notre Dame de Puy. See Ayroles, pp. 15-16.

§ Depositions of Gaucourt: Quicherat, iii. 17.

In her letter dated 22nd March, 1429, she summoned the English before Orleans in these words: "I have come here from God, the King of Heaven, body for body, to put you out of the whole of France."* All the towns on the way to Reims she summoned in these words: "Surrender to the King of Heaven and to the gentle King Charles."†

In the corner of her standard, where it was the custom to place the arms of the person to whom it belonged, there was painted a dove, the emblem of the Holy Ghost; and in its beak the bird held a scroll with the following words inscribed upon it: "*De part le roy du ciel.*" (From the King of Heaven.)‡

Some of her answers at Rouen are very emphatic. "I have come to the King of France in the name of God, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the Saints in Paradise, of the Church triumphant there above, and by their commandment."§ "I come from God, I have therefore nothing to do here; send me then back to God, from Whom I have come."||

Again, to the Bishop of Beauvais: "You say that you are my judge; take good heed about

* See the full text of the letter: Taxil, p. 143; Quicherat, i. 240.

† Perceval de Cagny: Quicherat, iv. 18.

‡ " . . . son estendard, auquel y avoit un escu d'azur, et un coulou blanc dedans ycelluy estoit; lequel coulou tenoit un role en son bec ou avoit escrit *de par le roy du ciel.*"—*Livre Noir de l'Hôtel-de-Ville de la Rochelle*, p. 23, Orléans, 1879.

§ March 17th, 1431: Taxil, p. 218; Quicherat, i. 176.

|| February 24th, 1431: Taxil, p. 110; Quicherat, i. 61.

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this that you are doing ; for in truth I am sent by God, and you are placing yourself in great danger.”* Lastly, but two days before her death : “ If I were to say that God has not sent me, I should damn myself ; for of a truth God has sent me.”†

All these passages contain affirmations of the most solemn nature. She speaks with absolute certainty of her Divine mission. She affirms it as a thing not of the bygone, but of the present. She asserts it with no less assurance than she asserts the truth of other revelations. She knows that she is sent by God, and she knows this truth from God Himself. As St. Thomas says : “ A person receiving an express revelation from God has the same certainty that the revelation is from God as he has of the truth of that which is revealed.‡

Her Divine mission is an abiding truth resting upon the authority of God Himself. As it was

* February 24th, 1431 : Taxil, p. 112 ; Quicherat, i. 62.

† May 28th, 1431 : Taxil, p. 482 ; Quicherat, i. 457.

‡ “ De his ergo quae expresse per spiritum prophetiae propheta cognoscit, maximam certitudinem habet, et pro certo habet quod haec sunt divinitus sibi revelata ; unde dicitur Jerem. xxvi., 15 : *In veritate misit me Dominus ad vos, ut loquerer in aures vestras omnia verba haec ; alioquin si de hoc ipse certitudinem non haberet, fides quae dictis Prophetarum innitur, certa non esset.*” *Summa Theologica*, 2. 2. q. 171. a. 5. See also the comments of M. Berruier, *Mém. et Consult.* x. 259 : “ Ad hoc dicendum quod, sicut supra tactum est, habens de aliquibus revelationem a Deo certus est quod illa sunt sibi divinitus revelata ; haec autem Puella constanter asserere se habuisse revelationem a Deo ; de hoc igitur certa erat” (p. 362).

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ever present, so it had never had a limit placed to it in the past. That it might have a limit set to it in the future Jeanne intimated clearly enough. On the 2nd of May, 1431, she said: "When I shall have done that for which I have been sent by God, I will take the dress of a woman."*

The popular opinion of the time drew no line of demarcation for her mission. When she had been taken prisoner public prayers were offered for her deliverance, and that thus she might accomplish what remained over of her mission (*quod superest negotiationis suae adimplendo*).†

Again, the Coronation at Reims was never the ultimate boundary of her thoughts. From the very first they looked on far beyond that. On the 22nd of March, 1429, she writes to the English that the King "will enter into Paris with a good company."‡

On the 8th of June she playfully tells Guy de Laval that he shall "drink wine in Paris" ere long.§ Three Angevin gentlemen, writing to the Queen from Reims on the very day of the Coronation, say: "To-morrow the King is to start holding his way towards Paris"

* Taxil, p. 419; Quicherat, i. 394.

† For the full text of the prayers said at Mass for the deliverance of the Maid, see *Le Culte de Jeanne d'Arc au XV^e Siècle*, par Pierre Lanéry d'Arc, p. 25: Orléans, 1887; also Ayroles, p. 687.

‡ Taxil, p. 143; Quicherat, i. 246.

§ Letter of G. de Laval to his mother: Quicherat, v. 107.

The Maid makes no doubt but that she will place Paris in obedience."* And that this plan was not understood to have been forced upon the Maid, we have the testimony of Perceval de Cagny: "The Maid," he writes, "had the intention to restore the King to his lordship (seigneurie) and his kingdom to his obedience. And for this she made him undertake, after the deliverance of the county of Champagne, the journey to come before Paris, and in coming thither made very great conquests."†

Many more passages might be cited in the same sense. But the above may suffice to show that Jeanne never entertained the idea that her mission was bounded by Reims, but that, on the contrary, the end she had in view was the total and complete expulsion of the English from France.

Peace was what she aimed at, and so long as the English occupied France there could neither be peace between the two powers nor tranquillity and welfare amongst the people. Orleans, Reims, and all the other campaigns were but means towards the one great end: peace, and the service of God in all its perfection.‡

* Quicherat, v. 130.

† Quicherat, iv. 20. Compare also Eberhard von Windecken, Treasurer to the Emperor Sigismund: "Auch meinte die Magd den König zu Paris einzuführen": Quicherat iv. 500.

‡ "Revelatio ei facta ordinabatur ad bonum et salutem publicam et spiritualem et temporalem totius populi regni Franciæ."—M. Berruier, *Mém. et Consult.* p. 258.

V.—DISCUSSION OF PASSAGES UPON WHICH MIS-
CONCEPTIONS ARE BASED.

It is now time to turn to the explanations of the passages quoted above which have formed the basis of misconception. The expression of a desire for home has been construed into a positive request to the King.

Now, as to her mission, Jeanne never looked to the King. It was he who received instructions from her, rather than she from him. It was the will of God upon which she depended. God was the King of France; Charles was his lieutenant, dependent upon God no less than she was herself.* Jeanne had an unbounded reverence for the King, as the representative of God; but she never looked to his guidance in what concerned her mission. "I have done nothing, nothing in the world," she said, "except by the order of God."† It is therefore a complete misunderstanding of the position of the Maid to place the continuance of her work at the will of the King. It is a strange aberration from truth to support this by altering the wording of the original text:

The *Quarterly Review* credits Jeanne with the words: "I wish that the gentle King would allow me."‡ The *Chronique de la Pucelle*, from

* Depositions of Pasquerel: Quicherat, iii. 103.

† February 27th, 1431: Taxil, p. 129; Quicherat, i. 75.

‡ "I wish," she said, "that the gentle King would allow me to go towards my father and mother, keep my flocks and herds as before, and do all things as I was wont to do." March, 1842, p. 312; *Joan of Arc*, by Lord Mahon, p. 59: London, 1852.

which the article quotes, reads: "I have accomplished what Messire (God) has commanded me, which was to raise the siege of Orleans, and to cause the gentle King to be anointed; I could wish that he would have me brought back to my father and mother, etc."*

It is evident from the context that Jeanne is referring to God and not to the King. Moreover, Jeanne's words, as given by Dunois who heard them uttered, are: "Would that it might please God, my Creator."† Émile de Bonnechose, in his *Histoire de France*, gives another altered version: "I have accomplished what was commanded me."‡

This is not honest history. Writers may express their own conclusions, or report in their own language what they consider to be the substance of the words of another; but when they quote words within inverted commas it is understood that these are the actual words of the passage quoted. But the true idea of the Maid's mission had become so obscured that authors seemed to be quite unconscious that

* "Et si dit oultre auxdits seigneurs: 'J'ay accomply ce que Messire m'a commandé de lever le siège d'Orléans et faire sacrer le gentil roy; je voudrois bien qu'il voulût me faire ramener auprès mes père et mère, et garder leurs brebis et bestial, et faire ce que je soulois faire.'"—*Chronique de la Pucelle*, p. 326; Petitot, *Mémoires Complètes*, vol. viii. p. 207.

† "Et utinam placeret Deo, creatori meo, quod ego nunc recederem, dimittendo arma, et irem ad serviendum patri et matri in custodiendo oves ipsorum, cum sorore et fratribus meis, qui multum gauderent videre me."—Depositions of Dunois: Quicherat, iii. 14.

‡ *Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 355: Paris, 1859.

they were making a substantial alteration in the words they professed to be quoting.

We may freely admit that Jeanne had a natural longing for home. It had not been her own device to embark upon her enterprise. "I had rather," she said at Rouen, "have been torn asunder by horses than have come into France without the permission of God."* "I did not come into France but at the command of God."† Twice before reaching Reims she had expressed her affection for home. The first time was at Vaucouleurs, before leaving her native country. To Jean de Metz, who escorted her to Chinon, she said: "There is no succour for him (the King) except from myself, although I would rather be spinning by my poor mother's side, for it is not my business; but it is necessary that I should go and do this, for my Lord wishes that so I should do."‡ If, therefore, the argument from her home affection be pressed, she ought to have asked leave of the King to return before ever she started.

The Duc d'Alençon deposes to the next. At the assault upon Jargeau, June 11th, 1429, the French officers appeared afraid to attack. Jeanne told them not to fear, adding: "Unless I were sure that God is directing this work, I

* February 27th, 1431: Taxil, p. 128; Quicherat, i. 74.

† February 27th, 1431: Taxil, p. 127; Quicherat, i. 73.

‡ Depositions of Jean de Metz: Quicherat, iii. 436.

had rather be keeping sheep than exposing myself to such great dangers."*

Yet if it pleases writers to magnify this longing for home, it only redounds to the greater credit of Jeanne in showing how she subordinated natural inclinations to the will of God.

It may be objected, with Voltaire,† that she did not effect all that she prophesied. To this it may be replied that what she was explicitly enjoined herself personally to carry out she did indeed accomplish according to her own emphatic words. The final expulsion of the English, although intended, was not of necessity to be brought to its completion personally by Jeanne.‡

Next, the expedition to Orleans and also to Reims had only been undertaken at the unremitting instances of Jeanne, and had been carried through and brought to a successful end solely by her own indomitable determination and perseverance. Nothing was more natural than that she should call the King to witness that the revelations of God had each one been verified. The raising of the siege of Orleans was the chief sign that she had been commissioned to show in proof of her Divine mission. "In the name of God," she said at Poitiers, when asked for a sign, "I am not come

* Depositions of the Duc d'Alençon : Quicherat, iii. 95.

† *XVIII^e Scottise de Nonnotte*, Mélanges, iii. p. 498.

‡ See *Les Apparitions et la Mission Divine de Jeanne d'Arc*, par l'Abbé Hatte, p. 75 : Orléans, 1889.

to Poitiers to give signs; but take me to Orleans and I will show the signs for which I am sent."* "You ask me what sign I can give you of the truth of my words. The sign that I will show will be the raising of the siege of Orleans."†

Nothing had distressed the Maid more than the reluctance some persons had to believe in her mission. With the accomplishment of the second great sign this distrust ought to give place to confidence, and the King ought to proceed generously to carry out the further will of God under the guidance of the simple Maid whom it had pleased God to raise up for this purpose.‡ Such would seem to have been the further and implied meaning of the words addressed to the King immediately after the coronation.

But the King and those who influenced him were only faint-hearted in their co-operation.§ "Work and God will work," said Jeanne.|| "In the name of God the men at arms will fight and God will give the victory."¶ Men had poured in from all sides ready to serve at their own expense under the leadership of the Maid.**

* Depositions of Seguin: Quicherat, iii. 205.

† Depositions of Gaucourt and Garivel: Quicherat, iii. 17, 20.

‡ "Il pleust a Dieu ainsi faire par une simple pucelle." March 13th: Taxil, p. 193; Quicherat, i. 145.

§ Perceval de Cagny: Quicherat, iv. 24, 30.

|| Depositions of the Duc d'Alençon: Quicherat, iii. 96.

¶ Depositions of Seguin: Quicherat, iii. 204.

** *Chronique de la Pucelle*, p. 312: "Et plusieurs autres seig-

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But jealousy and envy prevailed.* Gerson, who had died a few days before the Coronation, had already on the 14th of May written words of warning beforehand. "Even if the afore-said Maid should be thwarted from all her hopes and ours, *quod absit*, one ought not to conclude that these things have been done by the evil spirit or not by God; but that because of our ingratitude and blasphemies, or otherwise by the just, though hidden, judgment of God, there might come about the frustration of our expectations in the anger of God; but may He avert this from us and turn all things to good."† Thomas Basin, Bishop of Lisieux, born in 1412, explains upon the same grounds the failure in gaining the full benefits of the mission of Jeanne. "Often," he says, "what the Divine mercy grants to the grateful it takes away from the ungrateful."‡ For some such reason, he thinks, God allowed the Maid to be taken by her enemies and handed over to death.

The children of Israel had not the courage

neurs, capitaines, et gens d'armes venoient encore de toutes parts au service du roy; et plusieurs gentilshommes, non ayans de quoy eux armer et monter, y alloient comme archers et coustillers, montez sur petits chevaulx; car chascun avoit grande attente que par le moyen d'icelle Jeanne il adviendroit beaucoup de bien au royaume de France; si desiroient et convoitoient à la servir, et cognoistre ses faits, comme une chose venue de par de Dieu."

* "Dont aulcuns seigneurs et capitaines, ainsi que je trouve par escript, conceurent grand haine et envye contre elle." L'Abbreviateur du Procès. Quicherat, iv. 260.

† Quicherat, iii. 303.

‡ *Histoire des régnes de Charles VII. et de Louis XI.*, vol. i. p. 86, Paris, 1855-57. See also Quicherat, iv. 357.

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to follow Moses into the Promised Land, and they wandered in the desert for forty years; Charles VII. and his advisers were too distrustful and faint-hearted to follow the Maid, and they were abandoned for twenty years to contend with their foes.* The prophecies of Jeanne were fulfilled in the end; but, if we rightly understand her words, less than three years should have seen their accomplishment.†

Such were the explanations of the learned men of Jeanne's time of the apparent failure of the second period of her active work. It was reserved to the imaginative powers of a later age to evolve the idea that her errand was over and that her inspiration had fled.

VI.—DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE PERIODS BEFORE AND AFTER THE CORONATION AT REIMS.

There remains the difficulty presented by the depositions of Dunois, where he distinguishes between what the Maid affirmed about Orleans and Reims and what she said about other matters concerning the war.‡ The popular explanation is that the first portion of her career ending with Reims came under her mission, and that the second portion was outside it. A distinction has already been made

* Paris submitted, April 14th, 1436; Rouen, November 20th, 1440; Bordeaux, October 18th, 1453.

† March 12th, 1431: "Si j'avais duré trois ans sans obstacle, j'aurais délivré le duc." Taxil, p. 186; Quicherat, i. 134, 254.

‡ Depositions of Dunois: Quicherat, iii. 16.

between what Jeanne was to carry out in person and what might be fulfilled afterwards by others. But we may take the statement of Dunois as being founded upon a deeper distinction. St. Thomas says: "The mind of a prophet is instructed by God in a twofold manner; in one way by express revelation; in another way by a certain very hidden instinct, which, as St. Augustine says, the minds of men receive without being aware of it."*

Suarez, commenting upon this, says:—"Holy and true prophets do not always speak from certain prophecy, but sometimes only from a prophetic instinct; then, however, they do not affirm as certain those things which they put forward, but they do so with that uncertainty which they actually have and suspect that they have. Wherefore, if the instinct was true they are not corrected, but after a time, when there comes fuller light and revelation from the Holy Ghost, they are confirmed; if, however, the instinct was human they are corrected."†

He cites the case of Nathan, who said to David: "Go, do all that is in thy heart; because the Lord is with thee."‡ And the same night the word of God came to Nathan, saying that David should not build the Temple, but that his son should do so. In the first instance Nathan thought that he spoke by the spirit of God;

* *Summa Theologica*, 2. 2. q. 171, a. 5.

† *De Fide*, Disp. viii. 4, sec. 5.

‡ *2 Kings* vii. 3.

afterwards God corrected him by express revelation.

To apply this to the case of the Maid. With regard to the siege of Orleans and to the Coronation at Reims Jeanne asserted and re-asserted that, upon these matters, she had had an express revelation from God. Dunois, in the passage which has given rise to the difficulty, is a witness to this positive affirmation. There was a pause, however, in the revelations, when the Coronation had been accomplished and with it the second great sign of Jeanne's Divine mission. Then, in the absence of express revelation, she would speak with prophetic instinct, conscious within herself that she was sent by God; sometimes perhaps speaking by the Spirit of God and from a Divine instinct, sometimes perhaps from a human instinct. There is no need, therefore, to explain the periods before and after Reims as falling, the one within her mission, the other without it. The passages quoted from St. Thomas and Suarez suggest an explanation in perfect harmony with all Jeanne's sayings and deeds, while at the same time it gives a distinction which seems to be required.

We may say, therefore, speaking generally and with reference to her military career, that the first period was that of express revelation, the second the period of hidden prophetic instinct.

Jeanne herself distinguished between what

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she knew by express revelation, what she imperfectly understood, and what was left undetermined. An instance of positive assertion, negative and affirmative, is the following: "As to the love or hatred God may have for the English, or what He will do concerning their souls, I know nothing; but what I know well is that they will be driven out of France, except those who shall remain and die there; and I know also that God will send the victory to the French over the English."* Secondly, she says on another occasion: "I have not understood all."† And again: "I have accomplished, so far as it has been in my power, the commands of God which have been given me by the means of my voices, so far as I have been able to understand them."‡ Thirdly: "The attack upon Paris . . . and (that) against La Charité . . . was neither against nor at the command of my voices."§

But though it may be said, by way of distinction, that the second period was that of hidden prophetic instinct, it is not to be conceded that "her inspiration had fled," or that she received no more express revelations. That is absolutely false. For example, she was expressly told to remain at St. Denis. || Being wounded, however, she was taken away

* March 17th, 1431 : Taxil, p. 220 ; Quicherat, i., 178.

† February 24th, 1431 : Taxil, p. 112 ; Quicherat, i., 62.

‡ March 15th, 1431 : Taxil, p. 211 ; Quicherat, i., 168.

§ March 15th, 1431 : Taxil, p. 211 ; Quicherat, i., 169.

|| February 22nd, 1431 : Taxil, p. 108 ; Quicherat, i. 57.

by force against her will. She was told at Melun that she would be taken prisoner.* Every day at Rouen she says she received communications from her voices: "There is not a day but what I hear them."† Often she asked the judges for a delay that she might inquire and be advised how to answer: "I will ask advice upon that, and then I will answer you."‡

VII.—JEANNE'S INTERPRETATION OF HER PREDICTED DELIVERANCE FROM PRISON, AND ITS SUBSEQUENT CORRECTION.

There is one more point that must not be omitted, for it contains one of the most touching incidents in her whole life. "St. Catherine has told me that I shall be succoured. I do not know whether this succour will consist in being delivered from prison, or whether during the judgment there will arise some disturbance by the help of which I may be delivered. I think it will be either the one or the other of these two things. But what my voices tell me, as being the principal thing, is that I shall be delivered by a great victory; and they also add: 'Take all in good part, have not too great

* March 13th, 1431: Taxil, p. 194; Quicherat, i. 147.

† March 1st, 1431: Taxil, p. 146; Quicherat, i. 85.

‡ March 15th, 1431: Taxil, p. 209; Quicherat, i. 165. Prophetæ non semper potuerunt "assequi veritatem, nec respondere ad interrogata donec vel Deus illis loqueretur, vel ipsi consulerent Dominum." Suarez, *de Gratia*, Prolegom. iii. sec. 23.

a concern for your martyrdom ; you will finally come to the kingdom of Paradise.' ”*

Questioned again upon this, she says : “ My voices have told me this simply and absolutely, and that without there can be any fail.”*

Here we have first the assertion of an express revelation. Secondly, there is a revelation of which she understands the words *that she shall be delivered* in the sense, most obvious to herself, of deliverance from her actual prison.† Thirdly, she places her own interpretation, and that with hesitation, upon the way in which she thinks the prophecy may be fulfilled. That she was not fully informed appears again from her answer on the 1st of March, that she did not know how or when the deliverance would be, and she had added : “ Speak to me of it in three months, I will give you an answer.” 人

It would be difficult to form an exaggerated picture of her sufferings in prison—where, chained night and day, she was in continual fear of violence and was never free from the taunts and jeers of the coarse soldiers who guarded her. Three of them were always in her cell ; two kept watch outside. Those five months were indeed a time of anguish.

* March 14th, 1431 : Taxil, p. 201 ; Quicherat, i. 155.

† “ Ut namque dictum est, revelationes non semper accipiendæ sunt ad litteram seu prout in superficie sonant, sed frequenter sunt ad sensum mysticum trahendæ. Idcirco illa liberatio accipienda potius videtur seu intelligenda de adeptione salutis quam de ereptione carceris.” Jean Bréhal, *Mémoires et Consult.* p. 428.

‡ Taxil, p. 149 ; Quicherat, i. 88.

She was never allowed to hear Mass. Her way to the hall where the trial was held led past the door of a chapel where the Blessed Sacrament was. There, when she could, she would stop for a moment to pray; but when this was discovered the judges prevented it.*

Afflicted thus in body and soul, it is no wonder she should understand that her martyrdom might mean the pains and adversity she suffered in prison.† She was but just nineteen, strong and vigorous. And if to the natural longing for freedom we add that higher desire she had to be engaged in the active work of her mission, we may understand the earnestness with which she must have looked forward to the accomplishment of God's will in her deliverance from prison.

But, as St. Thomas says, a prophet does not always understand the full meaning of what is contained in the words of his prophecy.‡ On the morning of her death, if we are to attach any credence to the posthumous acts of the trial, which the official secretaries refused to sign, she said that she had been deceived as to this deliverance from prison. Knowing how anxious her enemies were to represent her as

* Depositions of Massieu : Quicherat, ii. 16.

† "I call this martyrdom, for the great pain and adversity that I suffer in prison; I do not know whether I shall suffer anything greater, but I wait on Our Lord" / Taxil, p. 202; Quicherat, i. 155.

‡ "Sciendum tamen quod . . . etiam veri prophetae non omnia cognoscunt quae in eorum visis, aut verbis, aut etiam factis Spiritus sanctus intendit" / *Sum. Theol.* 2. 2. q. 173, a 4.

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having retracted, we are quite justified in holding either that the whole account in the posthumous acts is fictitious or at least that it misrepresents the meaning of Jeanne's words. It is conceivable that she may have admitted that she had been deceived, but in the sense that she herself, through imperfect understanding, had mistaken the true purport of the revelation. God in His tender mercy, did not allow her to understand the full and entire meaning of the prophetic words. To her torments, which were already so great that nothing but the grace of God could have enabled her to bear them with the wonderful patience displayed in her answers—to these torments would have been added the abiding consciousness of her approaching death by fire.

A careful reader of the depositions made by those who witnessed her last moments will be struck with the marked transition in Jeanne's demeanour from one of fear and desolation of spirit to one of complete composure and heroic self-surrender. Her fervour and intense devotion in prayer had melted the whole multitude, from ten to twenty thousand in number, to tears.* Would the God of compassion and love not answer her earnest appeals? If to an effect is to be assigned a proportionate cause, I believe that transition to have been due to an answer received to her

* Depositions of Massieu, etc.: Quicherat, ii. 19, 324; iii. 177, 186, 188, etc.; *Mém. et Consult.* p. 251.

prayers. In the tenderness of His love God would no longer allow His faithful servant to remain in suspense. When the knowledge of the full meaning of the prophecy would not be a suffering, but a consolation and a source of strength in her agony, then it would seem that her interpretation was corrected and her soul was illumined with the full sense of her predicted deliverance.

The flames from the pile are rising around her. "Hold up the cross before me," she says to the Dominican friar, "that I may see it up to the moment of death."* It is a time of supreme agony: yet she flinches not. The hour of desolation has passed away. All her sorrow has gone; her tears are dried. Her thoughts are in Heaven; the Holy Name is ever on her lips. But she has one more word for those upon earth. It is to affirm again that her voices are from God, that all she has done has been by the order of God, that she has not been deceived by her voices, and that her revelations came from God.†

Now she knows what her deliverance means. It is not a setting free into the stormy waves of the world; it is the opening of the gates to the "kingdom of Paradise."‡

* Depositions of Isambard de la Pierre: Quicherat, ii. 6.

† Depositions of Ladvenu: Quicherat, iii. 170.

‡ "Vere Johanna per martirium et magnam patientiæ victoriam a corporis ergastulo liberata fuit": J. Bréhal, *Mém. et Consult.* p. 184.

CONCLUSION.—HER MISSION ONLY ENDS WITH
HER DEATH.*

At length her mission has been accomplished. Unconsciously to herself, during those long months of suffering in prison, she has been testifying, not merely to those of her time, but to all generations to come, that in very truth she was SENT BY GOD. A subservient, malicious, and prejudiced judge, interrogating her week after week, carefully noted down her answers that he might use them as weapons against her.

The wisdom of God brings good out of evil. But for her enemies Jeanne might now be forgotten. The siege of Orleans and the march to Reims might still be recounted in the pages of history. A few sayings of the Maid, who was noted as speaking but little, might yet be preserved.† But the volume of her answers, which reveal to us the beauty of a soul wondrously illumined by the grace of God, would never have existed. The companions of her childhood; the honest peasants of her native village; the burghers of Orleans; the princes and courtiers; the chaplain, the page,

* I understand her mission, in its widest sense, as including not only the work she was sent to accomplish, but also the manifestation of the Divine origin of her mission.

† “Ses réponses sont brèves et simples;” “parloit peu;” “peu parlant;” “paucum loquitur;” “parcissima verbo;” “multiloquium . . . evitans;” *Breviarium Historiale*, p. 8; *Chronique de la Pucelle*, p. 279; Quicherat, iv. 306; v. 120; v. 32; Gélou, *Mém. et Consult.* p. 590.

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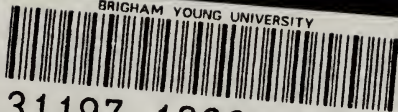
and the squire attached to her staff; the faithful friars who stood by her at the stake to the last; the executioner who fired the pile—all these would have passed away, and none of the precious recollections they had of the Maid would have been left upon record.

It was the bitterness of her foes that provided against this. The iniquity of their acts called forth a mass of testimony, deposed upon oath, each one of which brings its converging ray of light to shine upon the Maid and display to us a saintliness of childhood, a saintliness in the courts of kings; a saintliness in the rough camps of soldiers, and a heroic saintliness in the hour of death.

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NE	OCT 23 1996
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